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THE FIRST SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS



COMPILED BY WORKERS OF THE WRITERS' PROGRAM OF THE
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FLORENCE KERR, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
WILLIAM R. LAWSON, ADMINISTRATOR FOR NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

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Preface

IN MANY WAYS this history of Berkeley is an example of the value of the WPA Writers' Program. It was conceived, planned, compiled, written, and printed in a little over four months. To work within so tight a schedule was not easy: it demanded all the project's resources. For a single author—for even a group of authors beginning at scratch—to plan and execute such an undertaking at such short notice might have been impossible. It was possible for the Northern California Writers' Project only because the project, in the course of other work, had accumulated a great deal of information about Berkeley; because it has, through long and painful experience, learned to systematize its activities so as to accomplish a great deal in a short time; and finally, because it had the enthusiastic support and wholehearted coöperation of the people of Berkeley, including city officials, the university, business and service organizations, women's clubs, and individuals.

Despite the speed with which it was compiled, this is not a superficial treatment of the subject; neither, on the other hand, is it as comprehensive a book as a long-time study might have permitted. It was planned and written as a narrative, with the intention of capturing the spirit of Berkeley's growth rather than of listing every detail of the city's history. Many aspects of the city's past development and present character—for instance, the athletic achievements of such stars as Helen Wills Moody and Helen Jacobs, Mother Tusch's unique "Shrine of the Air" museum to aviation,

such notable commercial plants as the serum-producing Cutter Laboratories—have been ignored or touched on lightly. And the story of Berkeley's most important institution, the University of California, purposely has been subordinated in the belief both that it is more properly the subject of a book by itself and that it would tend to obscure the story of the city outside the campus if told in full.

The compilation and writing of this book were carried out chiefly by the Alameda County unit of the Northern California Writers' Project, under the active direction of Willis Foster, District Supervisor, with supervisory and editorial assistance from Margaret Wilkins and Paul C. Johnson, Assistant State Supervisors, of the State Office Unit. Research data were compiled under the direction of Porter Chaffee, research editor, by Nathan H. Daniels, Dorothy Hale, Edwin J. Howell, Donald Wayne McNeill, Aline B. Saturley, Gertrude Woods, and Anna Cora Winchell. Final editing and writing were chiefly the work of Willis Foster, assisted by Roma Bishop, George W. Brown, and David Friedman of the East Bay staff and Charles Coppock, Sidney Greenleaf, and Gladys Pittman of the San Francisco staff. The index was compiled by Max Loewenthal. Photographs were assembled by Howard B. Hoffman and Ivan Holmes Foster.

The list of people and organizations to whom the project is indebted for help and advice in this work would fill a large page. To all those whose names are listed in the bibliography as consultants we are grateful for very valuable contributions. In particular we are indebted to Samuel J. Hume, General Director of the Berkeley Festival Association, for his generous assistance throughout the work and in reviewing the final manuscript. A special word of appreciation must go also to Mayor Frank H. Gaines, City Manager Chester C. Fisk, and many councilmen, department heads, and subordinate officials; J. Delbert Sarber, General Manager of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce; Monroe E. Deutsch, Vice-President and Provost of the University of California; Harold L. Leupp, Univer-

sity Librarian, and many members of his staff, especially those at the reference desk and in the archives room; and Herbert J. Priestley, Director of the Bancroft Library, and his staff.

WALTER MCELROY, STATE SUPERVISOR
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA WRITERS' PROJECT

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Foreword

THE RESULT of careful and exhaustive research, each chapter in this book authentically records Berkeley's interesting history of bygone years. It is a story of a city of cities, three-quarters of a century young, whose accomplishments may be a guiding star to sister cities throughout the Nation.

It is fitting, with these chapters as a background, that a few words should be noted here regarding Berkeley's glorious possibilities in the years to come.

Berkeley will always be a city of young folks, a city of homes and fine churches and a city of renown because of its unmatched educational and recreational advantages embracing elementary instruction on through to a college career. As in the past, our great University of California will furnish increasingly the incentive, the inspiration, to those who seek cultural things worth living for.

These aspirations have now culminated in a Festival to commemorate the City's Diamond Jubilee. The citizens have combined to give tangible expression to those spiritual values represented by great music and great drama which alone give true significance to life. To this Festival, Berkeley, in a spirit of neighborliness and fellowship, has invited all northern California to share its program.

Berkeley's enviable record for efficient government, climatic conditions and location are attractive to business and industry alike; and the spirit of wholesome coöperation among the best citizens of this community, a tradition of long standing, gives ample assurance that Berkeley, the

Athens of the Pacific, will always be considered a standard of all that is good, fine, and progressive as long as the history of cities shall be written.

Berkeley: 1866-1941

*When Bishop Berkeley, lord of high degree,
With grants set out to educate the West,
He little knew that it was fate's decree
That Berkeley would at some time crown his quest.*

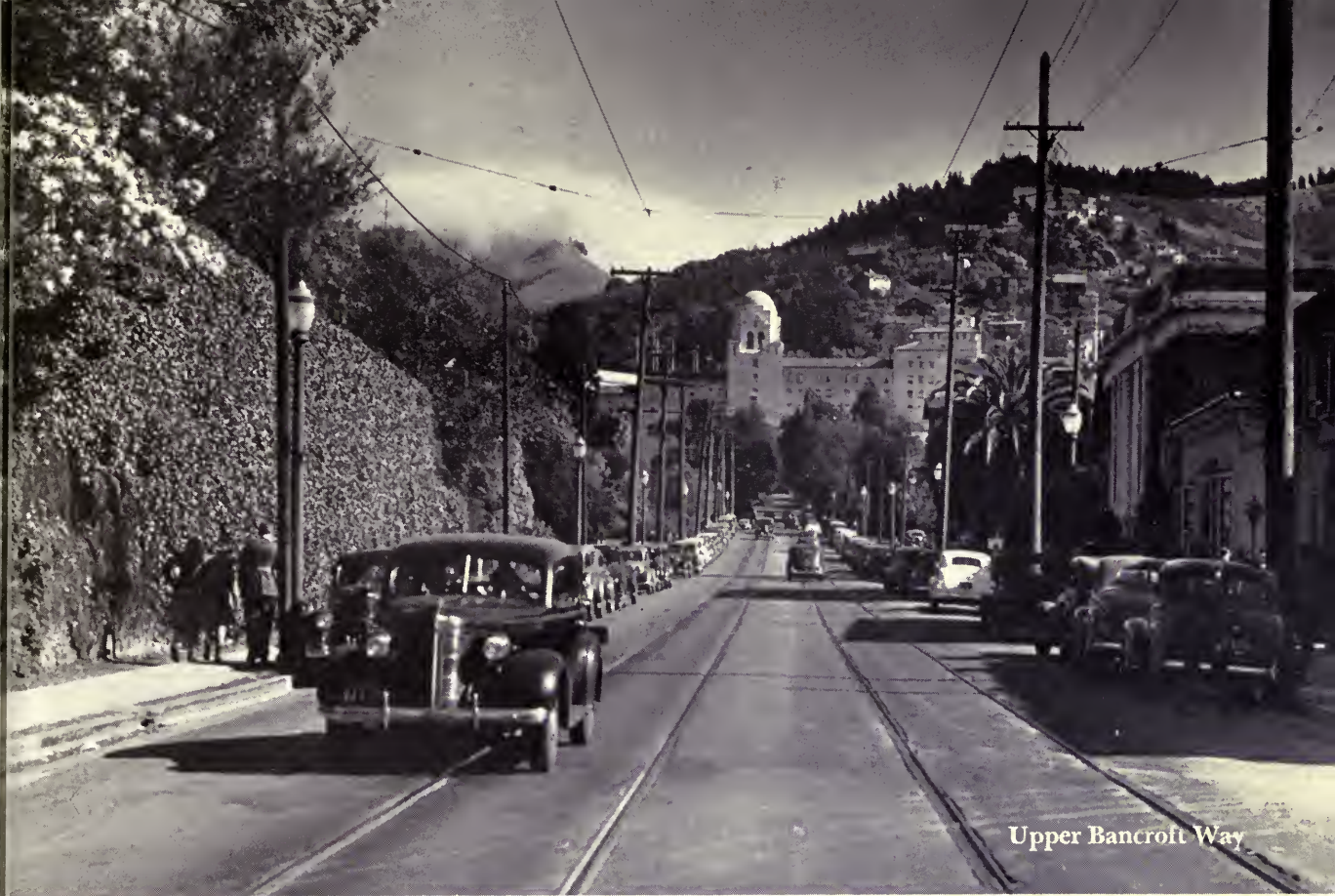
*"Westward the course of Empire takes its way,"
Is what the worthy Bishop wisely said,
Westward, the Empire came—and came to stay—
To Berkeley his prophetic vision led.*

*City of hillside homes and gardens gay,
Sentineled by myriad traceried trees;
City of changing views o'er shimmering Bay,
With sunshine bathed by cooling ocean breeze.*

*Home of people of great civic pride,
Amplly rewarding all those who aspire,
With creeds concurring, working side by side,
Ever keeping the spirit of Berkeley afire.*

*City of achievements, industrious, live—
With deeds yet to come not fully unfurled,
Berkeley of three score and ten years and five,
Center of learning—inspiring the world!*

LESTER W. HINK, PRESIDENT
BERKELEY FESTIVAL ASSOCIATION



Upper Bancroft Way



Shattuck Avenue



Air View, Berkeley



Two and One-Half Miles Out on Berkeley Pier

Berkeley Today

STAND ON A JUMBLED MASS of rock that scars a grassy cliff in the Berkeley hills, high above the level of the sea: across the blue carpet of the Bay, San Francisco sprawls over its hills in geometric pattern. To the right, on the Marin shore, wisps of mist like a half-lifted veil shroud the venerable head of Tamalpais. Between the dark silhouettes of the two peninsulas the carpet of water weaves through a narrow cleft under the Golden Gate Bridge, fragile as a spider web in the distance.

Dark props for the pageant of sea-borne commerce are Alcatraz and Angel Islands, crouching on the water like drowsy marine monsters. Closer in lie Yerba Buena Island, a rocky stanchion for the silver festoons of the Oakland-San Francisco Bay Bridge, and man-made Treasure Island.

From the water's edge across the wide flat plain that rims the near shore of the Bay, up the rounded, dappled hills and over the ridges climbs the city of Berkeley, splashed with color like a carelessly flung tapestry of buff, gold, crimson, green, and gray. Tree-lined streets serpentine the canyons and outline the contours of the hillsides. Houses face the Bay or peep between the foliage and over one another's shoulders at the rising ranges.

There is small resemblance in this city of modern homes and busy factories, seat of the world's largest university, to the oak- and willow-dotted plain that met the eyes of Pedro Fages, Father Juan Crespi, and their leather-jacketed Spanish soldiers one hundred and sixty-nine years ago. It is far different, too, from the sprawling ranch that fed the fat cattle of Don José Domingo Peralta in the 1840's.

Since 1860, when a little group of scholars dedicated the V-shaped mesa and the canyon opposite the “great mouth of the Bay of San Francisco” as the site of the College of California, the village, whose main nucleus was the campus, has spread in widening circles.

An early writer has said that Berkeley was “made into a compact town, much on the principal used to turf the . . . sand dunes of . . . San Francisco.” Originally it was two communities—Ocean View, whose work and interests lay west of the “county road” and along the water front, and the Berkeley of the student and his teacher, of which the university was the hub. Later, along the routes of the steam trains from San Francisco and the “bobtail” horse cars from Oakland, houses and stores grouped themselves in friendly proximity to the stations: Lorin (South Berkeley), Dwight Way and Shattuck, Berkeley Station, Berryman’s. New residential subdivisions were opened, and the tracks moved out to meet them: Northbrae, Thousand Oaks, Claremont. Neighborhood shopping centers grew up at busy intersections: College Avenue and Ashby, Vine Street and Shattuck, Sacramento and Ashby. These small villages merged with the passing of the years, yet each clung to its own identity, showing the contrasting facets that are still characteristic of the city.

For decades upper Berkeley was a somnolent college town, where faculty and student body pursued the academic life in a village of country roads and open fields, and weekly practice for the church choir was the most exciting diversion for undergraduates. But at the turn of the century the university began expanding as if under forced growth into the tremendous modern educational plant which it is today, equipped with libraries, laboratories, classroom buildings, two large stadia for athletic events and separate men’s and women’s gymnasias to serve the largest student body in the world. Now student lodgings—old, rambling, ivy-covered houses or trim, stuccoed apartment buildings—cluster around the campus. Sweatered youths and flat-heeled, bare-legged girls lounge on lawns or hurry about their academic duties.

North of the campus a rock with cylindrical holes in which Indian women crushed acorns into meal is a silent reminder of a long-vanished aboriginal population. Today red-tiled villas hug the terraced hillsides around it. Residential tracts south and northwest of the university have been settled by thousands of commuters who staff San Francisco offices. Easy transportation from Berkeley's more urban neighbors, articulate pioneer realtors, who advertised the healthfulness of the "eucalyptus . . . sometimes called fever trees" set out on its hill slopes, and the natural beauty of the site, encouraged the town's growth as a residential center. Families of wealth and leisure were attracted to the sheltered city, and today their hillside homes and gardens, as modern as America yet as Old World as Amalfi, give authenticity to their civic boast, "a city of beautiful homes." More modest cottages sweep across the sloping plain, along streets bordered with flowering peach, plum, and cherry trees, toward the Bay, where industrial plants fringe the water front.

Famous for its homes and schools, Berkeley is not so widely appreciated as a center of industrial production. But factories were attracted to West Berkeley by the level land and good transportation, until in 1940 the city, seventh in population in the State, was also seventh in the value of its manufactured goods. Into its processing plants come the products of Pacific-bordering lands—cocoanut oil, guano, spices—and from its machine shops and foundries, marine engines, pumps and gears, delicate instruments and appliances of many kinds are shipped to all parts of the world.

City of learning, city of industry, city of homes—Berkeley is all three. During the seventy-five years which have passed since its founders christened this far-western namesake of George Berkeley, gentle Bishop of Cloyne, the three Berkeleys grew up apart. Today they come together in a modern city which looks back on its first three-quarters of a century as only the beginning of its story.

1772-1866

I: Westward the Course of Empire

THE MORNING was beautiful and clear. The men gathered on a slope of the Contra Costa hills one day in May, 1866, could see ships outward-bound through the Golden Gate. Trustees of the College of California, they stood or sat at their ease around a rock where, six years earlier, they had dedicated a quarter-section of new land to the cause of learning. One of them, watching the ships, thoughtfully quoted the final stanza of a prophetic poem:

*“Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama of the day;
Time’s noblest offspring is the last.”*

“Who wrote that poem, Billings?” asked one of his hearers. “Wasn’t it Berkeley?”

Trustee Frederick Billings nodded; then, turning, asked suddenly: “Why wouldn’t Berkeley be a good name for the college town?”

Others agreed. The discussion continued over luncheon in the new home of Dr. Samuel H. Willey, acting president of the college, near the campus site. And at their regular meeting, held in San Francisco on May 24, 1866, the trustees unanimously adopted the name.

Thus, according to the most reliable accounts, the city of learning opposite the Golden Gate was christened. Much of the story sounds

apocryphal, and it is probable that the scene by Founders' Rock has been embellished in the seventy-five years that have since passed. But parts of it, at least, are verified by official records and first-hand accounts: the name was suggested by Frederick Billings, President of the Board of Trustees of the College of California, in honor of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, and was formally adopted at the meeting of the board on May 24, 1866.

Most commentators, then and since, have agreed that the name was appropriate. Billings himself said afterwards, in a letter written to President Daniel Coit Gilman of the university in 1873, that it came to him "as a sort of inspiration." His colleagues, men of letters and of intellectual vision who had dared in the midst of the social anarchy of the Gold Rush period to lay plans for a seat of learning worthy of their faith in California, and to project a city about it which would preserve the tradition of Cambridge and New Haven, accepted it as such. The only dissidents were outsiders who, through loyalty to their new State or through ignorance of the reasons for selection of "Berkeley," decried the imposition of such an alien name. One of the ablest—and slyest—members of the opposition was a writer for the San Francisco *Bulletin* of May 29, 1866, who, after announcing the board's action, commented:

"We are not sure but in the list of rejected names there were not some at least more euphonious than the present one. How are the poetical fledglings which the college expects to nurse in future years, to say nothing of those already full-grown and 'out-cropping,' going to make Berkeley rhyme in the coming odes and bucolics? There's trouble ahead for the classic birds and the sooner they swoop down upon the name the better for their rhymes and rhythms. But considering that a year was required to select a name one would have thought that something original at least might have been found. There must have been some poverty of invention to suggest borrowing thus early, though if the loan of a name must be made the thing has been cleverly done. But if the Trustees borrow they

ought not to apply the college clamps to the boys if they sometimes borrow by way of imitating the example."

The writer had not yet learned the source of Billings' "inspiration," but he assumed that the name probably honored Bishop Berkeley, and gave a brief review of the bishop's career which is as admirable a biographical notice today as it was when it first appeared in print:

"The . . . Irish prelate . . . as Dean came over to Newport, R. I., in 1729 with the intention of founding a college [in the Bermudas]. His scheme failed but he gave to Yale College a library of 880 volumes and his estate called Whitehall. There is still a Berkeley prize foundation at Yale and the house is still standing at Newport where he lived, and an organ presented by him is still in the church at that place. Berkeley went back to England for a residence of two and a half years and received from Queen Anne 'as a special mark of favor' the Bishopric of Cloyne, which place he held for twenty years. He was a man of exalted character, a liberal patron of learning and a notable author. Like many great men of his time he had special hobbies. Having used tar water as a medicine, he wrote 'Chain of Philosophical Reflections and Enquiries concerning the Virtues of Tar Water.' As the bishop was a patron of at least one infant college in America and strove to found another there is some fitness in those giving his name to the college homestead on the Pacific Coast . . ."

Had the reporter thus ended his editorial and his speculations, he might still have won the thanks of the college's board of trustees for his fluent defense of the new town's namesake, despite his caustic remarks about "borrowing." But he went on to discuss another possible reason for the board's selection, thus provoking a controversy that gave editors ammunition for good-natured "ribbing" of the college town for many years.

". . . but there was another famous Berkeley," he said, "a royal Governor of the Colony of Virginia, who gave his name to a county since noted for treason. The governor was a sanguinary old Tory and shed so much blood that he astonished even Charles II. Besides he was no friend to popular

education. For in reply to commissioners sent to inquire into the affairs of the colony he made the famous declaration 'Thank God! there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope there will be none for an hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects, into the world, and printing has divulged these and other libels.'

"Which Berkeley do the trustees really mean to honor? And how are the public to be certified that they have not slyly lugged in the old Tory or at least divided the honors between the two? It might be well enough to put an explanatory note under the name of the beautiful town site: 'This is not Berkeley the Tory, who anathematized free schools and printing presses, but Berkeley the friend of education, who wrote the famous treatise on tar water.' "

Billings publicly quieted these slanderous conjectures when he donated a copy of Smibert's portrait of Bishop Berkeley to the university for presentation at the first commencement exercises on the new campus in July, 1873, with the thought, written to President Gilman: ". . . it is most fit that he who gave the name of the good Bishop to the site of the University, should have the privilege of placing his portrait in the University halls."

Scholars have raised one last point of issue over the christening, fortunately a minor one for everyone except the scholars themselves: did Billings misquote the verse which served as his inspiration? Probably he did, if he read the same version that the eminent historian, George Bancroft, had used in his *History of the United States*—"Westward the star of empire takes its way"—a misquotation ascribed originally to John Quincy Adams in his "Oration at Plymouth" in 1802. Evidence that Billings did make this error is found in a letter from Dr. Willey to President Gilman on January 2, 1873, in which he says: "Berkeley's couplet about the 'Star of Empire' determined the choice." Fortunately it is a dispute which does not affect the basic facts about the name's origins, and one which need worry only purists who may wish to debate whether Adams' version was an improvement in poetic imagery over the original, as some have contended.

Lost Spanish Arcadia

THE LANDSCAPE which spread before Billings and his colleagues on that May morning seventy-five years ago was not far unlike the scene viewed by another little group of pioneers near the same spot almost a century before. True, there were some plowed fields and farmhouses in the 1866 foreground, a few buildings and a wharf were outlined against the Bay waters at Ocean View, and the sprawling, growing metropolis of San Francisco was visible to keen eyes to the left of the Golden Gate. But these signs of human habitation were so scattered as hardly to affect the grandeur of the natural setting which had greeted the weary followers of Pedro Fages and Father Juan Crespi on March 28, 1772, when they halted for the night on the banks of a stream—probably Strawberry Creek—somewhere near Founders' Rock, while exploring the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay.

“As soon as we stopped,” Crespi recorded in his diary, “the soldiers succeeded in killing a bear, so that they had fresh meat to go on with.” On the next day, which “broke very cloudy,” they proceeded to discover San Pablo Bay (“*bahia redondo*,” Crespi called it) and to explore the San Joaquin Valley as far as the site of Antioch. On the basis of these explorations, Crespi drew the first map which showed San Francisco Bay and the future town site of Berkeley.

During their march through what is now Oakland, the party had been much annoyed by the “ascents and descents” of the hills and by the “zancudos and mosquitoes which molested us as much or more than they molest the inhabitants of the port of San Blas.” Despite the marshes along the adjacent estuary, the Spaniards observed that the site of East Oakland was “very suitable for a good settlement; for on account of the proximity of the forest they [the settlers] could provide themselves with timber and firewood.” (This forest of redwoods, called Arroyo del Bosque by Fages and Crespi, and known later as the San Antonio or Peralta Redwoods, was almost totally destroyed to provide lumber for houses in the San Francisco

of Gold Rush days.) Emerging from the hills, apparently near the present location of Oakland's Technical High School, they obtained the first view by white men through the Golden Gate. "We halted a little while in order to map the entry through the gate to the mainland, and it appeared to all of us to run from west to east through the gulf where the seven or more farallones are lined up." From this point they observed that the gate was "about three quarters of a mile wide," estimated the area of San Francisco Bay, and noted the locations of Alcatraz, Yerba Buena, and Angel Islands.

The party "came to seven arroyos of running water" on the march from San Lorenzo Creek to the site of Berkeley, three of the streams being found opposite the Golden Gate. On the surrounding plain were "many lilies and an abundance of very leafy sweet marjoram." Somewhat to their surprise, they saw not "a single heathen, and very few tracks of them" during this journey.

The Fages-Crespi expedition did not encounter any Indians until it had marched beyond the site of Berkeley almost to what is now Pinole Point. However, there is evidence that Acalanes, Bologanes, Carquinez, Juchiyunes, and other Costanoan (coastal) Indians frequented the area at the time of Spanish exploration. Don José de Cañizares, pilot of the *San Carlos*, first ship to enter the Golden Gate, who explored San Francisco Bay in a launch in 1775, thus reported to his commander, Don Juan Manuel de Ayala:

"The extreme end of this sound, eastward forms with a point, a pocket, which, at low tide is nearly dry. [These were the Oakland and Berkeley tide flats.] In every part there are seen poles driven in (the mud), with black feathers, bunches of tule, and little shells, which I believe are buoys for fishing, since they are in the water."

At some later date the Spaniards named the arroyo between the sites of Oakland and Berkeley Temescal Creek—a name which, according to one authority, "appears to be a mutilation of the Nahuatl word 'temazcalli,' the name of sweat-houses in Mexico"—presumably because this stream was at

one time the location of an Indian village. These pyrolactic institutions were a feature of every Costanoan community.

But there are even more positive evidences that Berkeley and adjacent areas were the location of Indian settlements. Mortar Rock Park, at Indian Rock Avenue and San Diego Road, contains a huge irregular outcropping of rock, in which many smooth cylindrical holes record the tedious labor of generations of Indian women who ground corn there. Many large shellmounds, one of the largest of which was found in Emeryville near West Berkeley, have revealed to archaeologists the accretion of thousands of years of native life in this area. Excavations conducted by Professor Clinton Hart Merriam in the Emeryville mound in 1902 revealed several distinct strata of shells, bits of charcoal, ashes, and artifacts. The mound itself was found to be a truncated cone with a diameter of 270 feet at the base and 145 feet at the top. Previously, in 1871, during construction of a racetrack nearby, another lower mound had been found to contain graves and other relics which with evidence found elsewhere in Alameda County prove the antiquity of one of the lost races of California.

The descendants of this ancient people—if such they were—were docile creatures, and the Franciscan padres had little difficulty in converting them to the communal labor and Catholic ritual of the Mission San Jose, after that outpost of Christianity was established in 1797. Thus this mission became, with one exception, the wealthiest and most populous in California before its secularization by Mexican authorities in 1834. Its prosperity was rivaled only by that of the ranchos of the *contra costa*, the first of which was granted in 1820 to Luis María Peralta, sergeant in the Spanish colonial army, who as a boy of 17 had accompanied his father, Corporal Gabriel Peralta, and the Anza expedition of 1776 in the settlement of San Francisco.

Don Luis applied to Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola in 1818 for the land stretching north from the creek named San Leandro “. . . and from this to a hill [El Cerrito] adjoining the sea beach in the same direction and

along the coast . . .” In recognition of conspicuous military service he was granted the land two years later, and thus formed the 48,000-acre Rancho San Antonio on which stand today the cities of Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Piedmont, Emeryville, Albany, and part of San Leandro.

Peralta took possession of his grant on August 16, 1820, with a brief dedication ceremony at the point where East 14th Street now crosses San Leandro Creek. Present as witnesses were Juan Miranda, Nicolas Berryesa, and two of Peralta's sons, Antonio María and José Domingo. The youths, aged 19 and 25 respectively, then accompanied the party to El Cerrito Creek, where they marked the northern boundary by placing stones of various colors in a rocky niche on the bank of the stream. (Later known as Monument Rock, this dedicatory stone now forms part of the foundation of the house at 552 Vincente Avenue in Berkeley.) Young Domingo could hardly have surmised on this occasion that he was claiming the very portion of land which would be given to him by his father twenty-two years later.

Already an old man when he received this grant, Don Luis never actually lived on it, preferring instead, from the time of his retirement in 1826 until his death in 1851, to live on another grant which he had obtained in 1818 near the *pueblo* San José—Portados la Ranchería del Chino. He placed four grown sons in charge of the Rancho San Antonio, and in 1842 divided it among them. To Ygnacio went the most southeasterly section (East Oakland and San Leandro); Antonio received the part between present Fruitvale and Lake Merritt, including Alameda; Vicente obtained the balance of present Oakland; and Domingo was given the northernmost portion, where Berkeley and Albany now stand. Foreseeing the danger from family altercations, Don Luis counseled with these wise words, which he also wrote into his will: “I command all my children, that they remain in peace, succoring each other in their necessities, eschewing all avaricious ambitions, without entering into foolish differences for one or two calves, for the cows bring them forth every year; and inasmuch as the land is

narrow, it is indispensable that the cattle should become mixed up, for which reason I command my sons to be friendly and united."

To the fact that they followed this advice may be credited much of the brothers' prosperity during the next decade. Until American occupation the *contra costa*, including ranchos of the Castro, Estudillo, and Alviso families, was a Spanish Arcadia of vast herds, haciendas, fiestas, and commerce. Yankee traders pushed their tall ships into San Leandro Bay and San Antonio Estuary, bought tons of hides and tallow for the New England and South American markets. Each adobe ranchhouse became a settlement where saddles and harness, cartwheels and shoes and farm implements, were manufactured to supply the needs of the *rancheros* and their families. The social atmosphere was one of almost continuous carnival: for the Spanish Californians a birth, a wedding, a visit, a homecoming—any unusual event—was an occasion for feasting and dancing and general merriment. Rodeos, bullfights, and barbecues accompanied the seasonal roundup and slaughter of cattle; on these occasions the matador and the *vaquero* gave exhibitions of their skill, while the hordes of Indian peons feasted on the viscera, which they believed imparted to them the strength and endurance of the slaughtered bulls.

Headquarters of the Rancho San Antonio was on Antonio's section, which had the principal hacienda. Domingo had built for himself in 1841 an adobe house on the south side of Codornices Creek, on present Albina Street just off Hopkins—the first building on the site of Berkeley. About ten years later he erected a frame house just north of present 1521 Hopkins Street, which became his residence during the following years.

Shortly before his death in 1851, Don Luis called together all the members of the large Peralta clan for a final bit of sage advice: "My sons," he said, "God has given this gold to the Americans. Had He desired us to have it, He would have given it to us ere now. Therefore, go not after it, but let others go. Plant your lands and reap; these be your best gold fields, for all must eat while they live."

That these lands were, indeed, the “best gold fields” proved the undoing of the Peralta fortune. Disappointed gold-seekers, drifting back from the Mother Lode in the early fifties, cast covetous eyes on the fertile fields and hillsides of the Rancho San Antonio. The first American settlers—the brothers Robert, William, and Edward Patten and Moses Chase—leased farm land from Antonio and on it raised good crops of hay and grain. Later arrivals, however, were not so considerate. Disregarding the claims of the Peraltas, they became squatters on the property of these proud Spaniards, who for the most part were too amazed and helpless to resist the intruders. For protesting the occupation of the rancho, Domingo was put in jail for six months and heavily fined by squatters who mounted a cannon in the plaza of future Oakland and claimed the Peraltas’ property by force of arms.

Despite their high-handed methods, these American pioneers were sticklers for legality, and in the course of time they deprived the Peraltas of their holdings by due process of law. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which California was ceded by Mexico to the United States in 1848, had promised that land claims of the Spanish-Mexicans who remained would be respected, and actually most of the grants were upheld eventually by American courts. However, the courts moved too slowly and expensively for the claimants, whose lands were being inundated meanwhile by floods of American settlers, and most of them found themselves dispossessed, to all practical purposes, by sales at prices too low to bring much but lawyers’ fees. This process was accelerated by the California Land Act of 1851 (called “the devil’s own instrument” by Josiah Royce), complicating the method for establishing Spanish and Mexican land grant claims, and by the Possessory Right Law, passed by the State Legislature in 1852. The latter, while theoretically limited to unclaimed public lands, in practice legalized squatting on old ranchos by disregarding land grant claims then in litigation in the courts (an amendment passed in 1861 specifically referred to lands under litigation under some “pretended Mexican or

Spanish grant”) ; by its terms American citizens “now occupying and settled upon, or who may hereafter occupy or settle upon any of the Public Lands in this State, for the purpose of cultivating or grazing the same,” were allowed to claim 160 acres, provided only that “to the best of his knowledge and belief . . . the said lands are not claimed under any existing title,” and that improvements to the value of \$200 be made on the property within ninety days.

As a result of these laws, and because of disputes among the Peralta heirs, who forgot their family unanimity after the death of Don Luis, most of the Rancho San Antonio was in litigation from the start of the American occupation until 1877, when the United States Government issued patents for Domingo’s and Vicente’s sections, last parts of the rancho to have their titles cleared. The brothers had died long before this, with little left of their own vast inheritances to pass on to their children.

Under the terms of the California Land Act, Domingo presented his claim in January, 1852, to the newly appointed Federal Board of Land Commissioners. Even before the claim was approved two years later, he had sold all but a 300-acre homestead tract around his home. The first transaction disposed of a 50-acre water-front tract (now known as Fleming Point) to John J. Fleming of San Francisco on July 20, 1853, for \$2,200. Less than a month later, on August 16, a second deed transferred the rest of Domingo’s property, except the homestead reservation, to four San Franciscans—Hall McAllister, Richard P. Hammond, Lucien Hermann, and Joseph K. Irving—for \$82,000. The reference points described in this transaction are good evidence of the reason for the difficulty that was later experienced in establishing definite boundaries for the property; they were “the stone that appears like a monument facing to the North . . . the Frenchman’s house . . . where the line crosses the broken fence . . . Indian mound . . . Flamingo house . . . buckeye tree,” and similar objects.

Despite this substantial deal, Domingo’s financial situation steadily deteriorated. In 1854, sale of his homestead was ordered to pay a debt of \$134.

On December 31, 1857, he regained full title to the property through payment of \$3,000 to Horace W. Carpentier, Oakland speculator, and J. B. Watson. In 1860 he sold 100 acres to John Everding for \$4,000; and from then until his death the balance of the homestead was involved in a series of mortgages and exchanges which dissipated his few remaining resources. When he died in 1865 he was interred in an unmarked pauper's grave in St. Mary's Cemetery.

Squatters and Settlers

LOCATION of the first American building on the site of Berkeley and identity of the first American settler are in some doubt. The deed by which Domingo Peralta sold Fleming Point, dated July 20, 1853, described the property as being "in a westerly direction from the dwelling house of the said Peralta, and being a point on the bay of San Francisco and formerly occupied by K. C. Drake, under the said Peralta." How long Drake had "occupied" the point and where his house was are not known. Presumably he was on the Albany side of the present city boundary.

Probably Berkeley's first American building was the home of Michael Curtis, a farmer who came to Ocean View (West Berkeley) in 1852. In the following year Captain W. F. Bowen opened a roadhouse on what is now the northwest corner of San Pablo Avenue and Delaware Street; it became the community's first grocery and feed store, and was a station for the stages which ran from Oakland.

Proximity to the Bay, rich level land, and easy transportation soon attracted a number of settlers and businessmen to Ocean View, and it became the first community in present Berkeley, growing so steadily that "East Berkeley" did not rival it for many years. In 1853 Captain J. Jacobs bought a 50-acre tract of land there and started a shipping business, carrying grain and freight to San Francisco and Sacramento in his sloop. His venture became so well known that the community often was referred to as Jacob's Landing. He operated at first without benefit of a wharf, but



Monument Rock, Where in 1820 Luis María Peralta Marked His Rancho San Antonio



Ocean View School on San Pablo Avenue, 1886



California Watch Factory, 1876

in 1866 he built a pier between Bristol (now Hearst Avenue) and Delaware Streets. (This later became the landing for a passenger steamer which made four trips a day between Berkeley and San Francisco.)

A more pretentious business, Berkeley's first real manufacturing plant, came to Ocean View in 1855. This was the Everding and Rammelsburg Starch and Wheat Factory, attracted from San Francisco by the convenient transportation and plentiful supply of water. (The firm previously had hauled water from Sausalito at a cost of \$1 for 250 gallons.) The plant's ten employees boosted Ocean View's population and created a demand for more services.

In 1856, the year blacksmith and wagonmaker Peter Guenette settled in Ocean View, population of the surrounding area had grown sufficiently for the county to erect a schoolhouse. The community's first church services were conducted in the school building in 1856 by a circuit rider, Reverend Cox of Lafayette.

Settlement of upper Berkeley was much slower and more scattered than that around Ocean View. The first Americans to claim property in Berkeley, under provisions of the Possessory Right Law, were four disappointed gold-seekers—Francis Kittredge Shattuck, George M. Blake, James Leonard, and William Hillegass—who filed 160-acre claims with the County Recorder in Martinez (Alameda County not yet having been formed) in June and July, 1852. Despite the requirement that \$200 in improvements be made on such claims within ninety days, none of the quartet built a house there for several years. They lived in the new town of Oakland and traveled back and forth over the country road (later Telegraph Avenue) to farm their property. Despite the papers filed in Martinez, they were squatters before the law. Shattuck, Blake, and Hillegass had their claims legalized in 1856 by deeds obtained from members of the San Francisco combine which had bought most of Domingo Peralta's property in 1853. Each paid \$5,000 for his deed. Leonard received a deed for 130 acres of his quarter-section three years later, for \$4,200.

These pioneers of upper Berkeley had an important influence on the development of the future city. Shattuck and Blake, brothers-in-law, had come to California from New York on the same boat in 1850, intent on finding their fortunes in the mining fields. Having only indifferent success, they left the fields late in 1851 or early in 1852 with their new-found friends, Hillegass and Leonard, and settled in Oakland.

To all except Leonard, ranching was a secondary occupation. Blake, trained in law, opened an attorney's office; Shattuck and Hillegass went into partnership in operating a livery stable. All three prospered and took leading roles in public affairs. At one time or another all three were Oakland city councilmen. Shattuck and Blake each served as mayor of Oakland, the former also serving at other times as town clerk, county supervisor, and State assemblyman; the latter, as city attorney and judge. As Berkeley did not become a corporate municipality until 1878, their influence on it was largely that of property owners and investors, but the college town held them in such high esteem as to name streets for them—names still in use.

Another early settler on the site of Berkeley was Captain Orrin Simmons, a Vermonter who brought to San Francisco in the early fifties a cargo of lumber which netted him \$30,000. This he invested in business, but a fire took most of his fortune. In the fall of 1854 he turned to farming, acquiring from S. A. Coburn squatter's rights to 160 acres (between Strawberry Creek and the present School for the Deaf) for a total of \$1,923, including "right, title and interest in and to a certain house, and out-houses, fences, lumber, and other improvements" made apparently by Coburn. Simmons moved to his new property the next year. He obtained full title to the land in 1857, paying an additional \$2,500 to John A. Bonnerton, who in his turn had acquired title from the purchasers of Domingo Peralta's property. In the same year he purchased two tracts north of his first one, including most of the present campus above College Avenue. Simmons did not succeed as a rancher. He is thought to have

influenced the trustees of the College of California to select the Berkeley site, selling his entire ranch, except 100 acres previously transferred to Henry Durant, to them in 1864 for \$35,000.

During the late fifties and early sixties Domingo Peralta's former property was the subject of almost continuous parcelings, mortgagings, and transfers. Most of the transactions were made for speculation or investment; a few, to provide homes and ranches for new settlers. Among these were James Bradshaw Woolsey, Mark Ashby, Amasa Drake Colby, and Noah Webster, whose residences are perpetuated in street names in southern Berkeley; Captain John T. Fowler and John T. Kelsey of the same neighborhood; James McGee, remembered by a street in west-central Berkeley; John Schmidt, who settled on part of the old Domingo Peralta homestead; E. B. Goddard, a college trustee whose house stood at the present location of Cloyne Court, north of the campus; and Napoleon Bonaparte Byrne, whose home was a mile farther north.

Byrne was a Missouri plantation owner who crossed the plains in a covered wagon in 1859 with his wife and four young children, his wife's mother and sister, two free Negroes, and some stock. Although the rigors of the six-month journey depleted the stock and limited the household possessions, Mary Tanner Byrne managed to bring "her guitar, some books, music, and a trunk full of silk dresses and other finery." Soon she was writing to relatives back East about their first visit to the "Pacific Metropolis" (San Francisco), where like any tourist they "were up and down Montgomery Street many times," and where "I got each of us a very pretty new bonnet of drab colored hair, mine trimmed with blue and Edna's with pink."

It was in Oakland, however, that her eyes opened widest with wonder and excitement. (A sensitive, literate woman, Mrs. Byrne left in her letters—quoted by Mary Tennent Carleton in an excellent article, "The Byrnes of Berkeley," in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* in March, 1938—some of the best contemporary descriptions of East Bay life.) "We

have been attending the [county] fair," she wrote. "The display of fruit and vegetables was a far greater sight than I had ever dreamed could be made of such articles all in the bright of growing perfection." She spoke of finding "every vegetable that I know anything about. Cabbages, tomatoes, Irish and sweet potatoes, green peas, snap-beans and radishes; in short everything, apples and pears, plums, apricots and peaches . . . "

But her greatest amazement was over the grapes. "I can emphatically assure you, you have never seen grapes . . . It is a sight, the large purple bunches that have not a defective grape on them, each grape often as large as the plums you have seen . . . bunches would usually weigh eight or nine pounds . . . Grape raising is getting to be a mania here, and wine making is going to be one of California's richest productions." Back East, the Tanners' and the Byrnes' mouths must have watered.

It was no surprise, after this introduction to the East Bay, to learn that Byrne was looking for farm land in this region. Within a few months he had found a site a few miles north of Oakland, and in four transactions between May, 1860, and April, 1861, he bought 827 acres covering much of the present Northbrae district and the area north of Cedar Street. "I believe it the prettiest situation in the valley," Mrs. Byrne wrote to her relatives. "Indeed I have difficulty in believing there is prettier in the state." Napoleon quickly erected a small house on his property, which was to be followed in 1868 with a fine new home, "The Cedars," for many years a show place, which still stands on the south bank of Codornices Creek between Oxford and Spruce streets. Mary Tanner Byrne was soon writing about Nap's business deals, with land at \$30 an acre; about his grief that his "are not of the first class farming lands," although the ranch was "good enough to pay for itself with one or two crops"; about the "enchanted view," and the "advantages . . . too numerous to mention."

"Our place is about one mile distant (back) from one of the handsomest roads in the state," she went on, in a letter dated March 26, 1860. "From Oakland to San Pablo is a distance of about twelve miles. The road has

been laid out through the valley on a perfectly straight line within about one-half mile of the beach. It is immensely wide, tho' the land is so valuable. It is intended to set out the whole distance with trees, that never lose their foliage here, and it is styled the Contra Costa Avenue [present San Pablo Avenue]. We frequently ride down to Oakland on this road tho' it is somewhat farther than our road, but the scenery is so beautiful that I can never look at it enough. There are three lines of stages running on this road, both ways, twice a day, so that we can ride down to Oakland any time almost for ten cents." The avenue was a favorite drive for sporting San Franciscans, behind horses worth "from \$2,500.00 to \$3000.00 on account of their trotting qualities."

Byrne became a commanding figure in Alameda County, although—being a Southern Democrat in a Republican State during the Civil War period—he was under a political handicap. Feeling was bitter between members of the two parties, and Byrne was not on speaking terms with many of his neighbors, whom he called "damn Yankees" so consistently that his children thought the term was a single word. A daughter, Kate Byrne, who still lives in Berkeley, recalls the story of a North Berkeley sewer contractor named Murphy, father of five boys. Meeting him after the birth of another boy, Byrne asked him when he was going to "quit." "Not until North Berkeley becomes Democratic," Murphy answered.

Napoleon Byrne did his own part in promoting party interests: four more children were added to the family during the decade after his arrival in California. He also joined his fellow Democrats in the formality—necessary in order to maintain representation on the ballot—of running for office occasionally. Kate Byrne relates that at one of the County Democratic conventions her father was nominated for the Legislature. Hoping to avoid spending time campaigning, he announced: "Boys, I'm too busy with my ranch, and can't be bothered running up to Sacramento." The presiding officer, dropping his gavel, answered: "Hell, Byrne, you don't expect to get it, do you?"

Byrne was never satisfied with the soil on his Berkeley ranch. Learning of the enormous crops that could be raised in the delta region near Stockton, he joined three friends in purchasing Venice Island, to which he moved in 1873. Using Chinese labor to build levees and reclaim the marshy land, the men were able to raise enormous crops in dry years. The reclamation was so expensive, however, that Byrne had to sell his Berkeley property, piece by piece. He finally abandoned the island in 1880 and returned to the thriving new college town. His wife, who had left the beautiful Cedars with misgivings, had died on the island; all but six acres of his vast holdings, including the big house, were sold; and he had lost most of his money in the mud of the delta. But he built a new home on Oxford Street, and opened a fuel yard at University and Shattuck, which he operated more in a spirit of charity than of business until uncollected bills forced him to close it. Finally, in 1887, he was rewarded for his political loyalty: Democratic President Grover Cleveland appointed him Postmaster, a position which he held through both of Cleveland's administrations.

Napoleon Byrne died in 1905. He had been a minor role in the development of the city, but living monuments commemorate this pioneer—the cedars, cypresses, and pine trees which now grace Live Oak Park and the neighboring area, planted at the behest of his beauty-loving wife.

1866-1878

II: The Handsome Town

LIKE THE STORY of the inspiration at Founders' Rock, that of the selection of the Berkeley site for the College of California is clouded in legend. One popular version—favorite among students of the first university classes and perpetuated by William Carey Jones in his *Illustrated History of the University of California*—credited the selection to another dramatic flash of inspiration by Professor Henry Durant, a founder of the College of California and second president of the university. This version was recounted by John B. Felton, a university regent, in an address at memorial exercises shortly after Durant's death.

"One morning in spring," Felton said, "when the air, purified by the rains of winter, brought out in clear relief the lines of ocean, valley, hill and mountain, when the trees were budding and the turf was green, and a vague, dark spot in the sunlight—the Farallon Islands—showed itself through the Golden Gate, he [Dr. Durant] passed through fields unbroken by roads, untrodden by man and came to the present site of Berkeley.

" 'Eureka!' he exclaimed, 'Eureka! I have found it. I have found it.' "

This story appeared with minor variations in many early articles and books about Durant and the university. Doubtless it had been embellished to fit the requirements of Felton's address—especially the triumphant exclamation—but it has some basis in fact. It is quite probable that Durant first spotted the site. He was a friend of Orrin Simmons, who settled there in 1855, and probably visited him at his new home. The site

actually was selected, however, only after a survey lasting three years, and by decision of the entire college board of trustees.

In 1896, speaking at the dedication of a memorial plaque on Founders' Rock, Dr. Samuel H. Willey, only surviving member of that first college board, reviewed the circumstances leading up to the selection. The Oakland campus "was never thought to be a suitable place for its [the college's] permanent location," he explained. "More land was wanted, situated on higher ground, with plenty of running water.

"Captain Orrin Simmons with his family then lived near here, on the south side of Strawberry Creek . . . They were friends of Mr. Durant who was then teaching the preparatory school in Oakland, and from him they naturally became acquainted with the opinion of the Trustees of the College respecting the kind of location suitable to be chosen as the final home of the Institution.

"It occurred to them from their experience in living here that this might be the very place they were looking for, and Mr. Durant himself was quite inclined to that opinion.

"He called the attention of other Trustees to the locality, and some of us came and visited it repeatedly and studied it carefully."

The trustees were greatly attracted by the "grand old oaks" on the grounds, the "unsurpassed landscape," the "calm and temperate breezes." But they were doubtful about the water supply, and since there was no urgency about deciding on a permanent location, no action was taken at this time.

In 1856 the board members enlisted the help of Dr. Horace Bushnell, a New England minister who had come West for his health, in surveying and recommending possible locations. The energetic reverend spent a busy six months during the summer and fall, prospecting within a 50-mile radius of San Francisco, and found many desirable sites. Shown the Berkeley site, he dismissed it as having insufficient water. In letters to friends in the East (published in his *Life and Letters*) he gave a round-by-round

account of his search. Bushnell was impressed with the beauty of Martinez, and spent several days there, "examining, trying climate, riding over the whole region adjacent, etc."; the Petaluma and Sonoma Valleys attracted him, but deals for the property proved impossible to make; Sunol Valley was temporarily his "College paradise," but lacked water and transportation; San Pablo was "as beautiful as any," but its summer wind "I think is too cold and too continual"; Clinton (east of Lake Merritt in Oakland) was tentatively selected, despite its one major fault: "that the city is too near, too easily reached by the ferryboats continually plying," but failed for lack of water rights; San Mateo, Santa Clara, San Jose, Mission San Jose, New Almaden, and Benicia all came under his roving, critical eye; his final choice was a site in the Napa Valley, "imposing beyond all others," and he left California in January, 1857, with the belief that this one had been accepted by the board of trustees.

Despite Bushnell's recommendations, the board withheld action. Its members were still attracted by the Berkeley site, and finally hired engineers to locate the one thing it seemed to lack—an adequate supply of water. Upon receiving a favorable report, the board met in San Francisco on March 1, 1858, and voted unanimously for the Berkeley site.

A strong influence on this decision was the receptive attitude of owners of property on and near the proposed site. Donations of land for the college were offered by several persons, although official records reveal that only two such gifts in the original 160-acre tract were actually made—fifteen acres from F. A. L. Pioche of San Francisco, and ten acres from George M. Blake. On November 21, 1857, two of the trustees—Ira P. Rankin and E. B. Goddard—had purchased sixty acres, including Founders' Rock and most of the north half of the present campus, for \$1,200, and these became the nucleus of the tract.

During the next two years the board entered into negotiations with other land owners, including William Hillegass, from whom seventeen acres were obtained after long bargaining. (Hillegass has been credited

with donating this land to the college, principally because his deed contained a clause specifying that the tract would revert to him or to his heirs if the college were not established there, but official county records show that on September 4, 1860, he was paid \$2,000 for 17.31 acres—better than the average prevailing price of about \$100 per acre.)

Finally, in 1860, “it was necessary to take possession of this property, enclose it, and begin improvements upon it,” Dr. Willey explained, in his Founders’ Rock address. “Before doing this it was deemed fitting by the Trustees that the site should be formally and publicly set apart, and in a suitable way consecrated to the purposes of education forever.”

A meeting of the board was called on the site on April 16, 1860. Nine members attended—The Reverend Dr. W. C. Anderson, President; the Reverend S. H. Willey, Secretary; the Reverend D. B. Cheney; the Reverend E. S. Lacy; the Reverend Henry Durant; Frederick Billings; E. B. Goddard; Edward McLean; and Ira P. Rankin.

The party drove from Oakland in carriages supplied by the Shattuck and Hillegass livery stable, Dr. Willey related. “Driving out Telegraph road to what was called the four-mile-house, we turned to the left, following the County road till we came to Strawberry Creek and there under the trees we hitched our teams.

“It was a clear beautiful spring day, and our ride was delightful.

“Then we wandered about, viewing the grounds.

“We saw at a glance how the two main ravines with their bordering shrubbery and trees could be utilized in the construction of driveways, sylvan walks and shaded glens . . .

“On the whole,” he continued, “we were all entirely satisfied with the choice of these grounds as the permanent site of the College.

“Then we looked about for some permanent landmark around which we could gather for some simple ceremonies of dedication.

“This rock appeared to be the only thing that met the requirement of the occasion, and so we made our way hither.

“From this elevated spot the grounds were all before us, covered with a crop of growing grain, and bordered with such noble trees as were nowhere else to be seen.

“The whole plain, indeed, was a grainfield from the Bay back to the hills, and not a house that could properly be called a dwelling was in sight.”

Here, around the rock, the board was called to order, a formal resolution was passed designating the grounds as the future college site, and a prayer was said, asking that the institution “ever remain a seat of Christian learning, a blessing to the youth of this State, and a center of usefulness in all this part of the world.” The meeting then adjourned, and the members returned to their carriages “more full than ever of hope for the success of the Institution.”

But despite the hopeful tone of this meeting, development of the new property lagged for several years. The college was slowly building its enrollment on its Oakland property, and not until 1864 was serious thought given to the new campus. In the fall of that year trustees and supporters of the school formed the College Homestead Association to bolster the institution’s finances through sale of property adjoining the campus site. Orrin Simmons’ entire ranch, including the present locations of the Greek Theatre and Memorial Stadium, was purchased for \$35,000; 40-acre sections south of the campus were purchased from Francis K. Shattuck, George M. Blake, and James Leonard for \$8,000 each, and from William Hillegass for \$9,000. The new tract was surveyed and platted, and lots of about one acre were placed on the market at \$500 each, to be paid for in twenty installments.

Selection of a name for the new town troubled the promoters. “It was a place too choice for any common name,” Dr. Willey wrote to President Daniel Coit Gilman of the university in 1873, adding that “young parents never pondered so long over the name of their first baby.” Dozens of suggestions were made, including “whole pages” from Frederick Law

Olmsted, a New York landscape architect who had been commissioned to lay out the new campus. Bushnellwood, Billingsley, Leawood, Shelterwood, Blythhaven, Villa-hermosa, and La Vistora were a few of the exotic combinations proffered by Olmsted, who added that it would be "natural and proper" to name the town Peralta, for the former Spanish owners of the property. "Peralta" was recommended by a committee of trustees appointed to review the problem, but the report was tabled and no decision reached until Billings' inspiration on the spring morning in May, 1866.

Thenceforth, plans for the new town moved more rapidly. "We learn," wrote J. Ross Browne in the *Oakland Daily Transcript*, "that there is a movement on foot to survey and lay out a handsome town at Berkeley, embracing within its limits some two thousand five hundred acres of land around the University site.

"It is proposed to have it laid out with broad streets, avenues, and railroads; to have the present fences set back at once, along the lines of the avenues, and that each property-owner shall immediately plant rows of ornamental trees along the proposed sidewalks, so as to present an attractive appearance by the time the new town has made some progress.

"The owners of the greater portion of these lands enter heartily into the project, and will no doubt co-operate as soon as they can be consulted.

"A concerted movement will then be made by gentlemen of influence and capital to make Berkeley the fashion; to invest it with the attractive features of a University city, like that of Cambridge and Oxford. Several gentlemen of means contemplate building there during the coming season, and they hope to influence wealthy San Franciscans to follow their example. It will be a delightful summer retreat. It is worthy of remark, that of late years it has become . . . the fashion with such of the San Franciscans as can afford it, to send their families out of town during the summer . . .

"Berkeley would furnish a charming resort for these out-of-town families, and, at the same time, would be convenient of access from the city.

Direct communication with San Francisco would give a great impetus to the new town, and soon establish there a society famed for its culture and refinement."

The Town's First Promoters

THE "HANDSOME TOWN" about which Browne wrote so hopefully was still little more than a name and an idea in the heads of a few college-minded theologians and business-men in 1866. They had a plan, on paper, with streets laid out, to show prospective buyers. But aside from the farmers who had taken possession of neighboring tracts in earlier years, the town counted only one residence—that of Dr. Samuel H. Willey, acting President of the College of California and initiator of the College Homestead Association. Dr. Willey, on whom fell the greatest burden of promotional work for the college and the homestead subdivision, had built a house there and moved from Oakland with his family in the fall of 1865.

Many years later Dr. Willey's daughter, Mrs. Maria Willey Gray, described those early days in a letter to Dr. H. I. Priestley of the university's history department: "We occupied the old cottage at 2709 Dwight Way as children and recall when ours was the only home with the exception of the farm houses within miles of the campus . . . No streets were made or used in our time not even Dwight Way. The only roads being those traversed by the farmers in going to and fro to Oakland. And even that only had sandy lanes . . . Personally, I used to run around with my sunbonnet on and tell the people where the streets were to be . . ."

Little Maria in her sunbonnet must have been a persuasive salesgirl, but sales resistance was high, and not until after Dr. Willey had handed his burden of college management over to the State and moved away in 1869 were any of the streets opened.

This laggardliness in the town's growth was not due to any lack of enterprise on the part of the promoters. They planned their "handsome town" carefully, and worked hard to attract people of refinement. Even the

street names were given an intellectual twist. Streets running north and south were named for American scientists: Audubon, Bowditch, Choate, Dana, Ellsworth, Fulton, Guyot, Henry, Inman, John Jay, Kent, Lieber, Mitchell; ways, running east and west, honored men of literature: Allston, Bancroft, Channing, Dwight, Everett, Felton, Goodrich, Hawthorne, Irving, Jarvis, Knapp, Lowell, Motley. Weight of learning did not becloud the practicality of the trustees' naming committee: a wandering visitor would always be able to find his way back to the campus by marching down the alphabet of achievement.

Many of these street names still remain, although their sequence was long ago broken by community planning problems which the city fathers could not foresee. Audubon and Choate were replaced in 1890 by College and Telegraph, respectively, to agree with Oakland's names for the southward extensions of those thoroughfares; Guyot succumbed to a name having far greater local prominence than did that of the Swiss naturalist and geographer—Shattuck, for the pioneer settler, county official, and legislator. Few of the names intended for streets beyond C and ways beyond D actually were applied: the Homestead Tract did not extend far enough to include them.

One early hindrance to settlement in the new tract was lack of water. This was met by formation of the College Water Company, which made surveys of the available sources of water and planned construction of a small reservoir, to be supplied by Strawberry Creek, high up on the hillside. A picnic party was held on August 24, 1867, to celebrate completion of the project. It was a good business stunt, attracting much attention and a few additional investors.

"It was a beautiful day," Dr. Willey wrote fifteen years later. "Many people came. The newspapers had their reporters there; speeches were made, and songs were sung. The fountains did their part well, playing their jets and throwing their spray high in the air, in places where there was nothing around at that time to lead me to expect to see a fountain."

The water problem was further solved by acquisition of rights to bring more water from Wild Cat Creek, and plans were drawn to construct a larger reservoir, lower in Strawberry Canyon, whenever needed. The promoters were now able to proceed with further improvement plans by starting a nursery to raise trees from seeds obtained from the East and by planting and cultivating many of the tract's lots.

But despite all these efforts success came hard, and slowly, to the new town, because of the relatively high price of the property, poor transportation facilities, and depressed financial conditions. Warring Wilkinson, first president of the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Asylum, listed these as the only homes on and near the Homestead Tract in 1868-9, when the asylum was being built: the Willey place, the old ranch house of James Leonard, the homes of Julian Haste and Judge Ferris, all along Dwight Way; a cabin "occupied by Heimboldt"; Orrin Simmons' place, just east of the Homestead Tract; the Shattuck farmhouse; and the homes of the Goddard and Byrne families to the north. The last four whose homes were listed were old-timers whose arrivals antedated opening of the Homestead Tract.

The chief drawback to settlement of the new tract was uncertainty over the future of the college itself. Loss of six of the original trustees through death or departure from the State had sapped its strength, and contributions to its support had never been as large as expected. Easterners, who had been counted on for aid, had usually refused on the grounds that California had plenty of gold to finance its own institutions. In 1867 the trustees, with misgivings, approached State officials with an offer to turn over their holdings to a State University. The offer was accepted by the State on March 23, 1868, and the merger completed in 1869.

The effect on Berkeley was immediate. Sales of lots increased. In 1870, with State officials preparing to lay the cornerstone of the first building on the new campus, it was reported that "already ex-Governor Stanford, Mr. Mayor Felton, Mr. ex-Mayor Dwinelle, and other well-known gentlemen,

have purchased and are now improving, or about to improve villa sites in the neighborhood."

Forerunners of the University

THE UNIVERSITY was already a going institution when it came to Berkeley, with alumni, an experienced faculty, and a history dating from 1849.

The lives and work of two Congregational ministers from New England—Dr. Samuel Hopkins Willey and Dr. Henry Durant—are closely interwoven with its inception.

Dr. Willey, a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Union Theological Seminary, was acting pastor of a New Bedford, Massachusetts, Congregational church when, on November 14, 1848, he received a commission from the American Home Missionary Society for work in California. He left New York via the Panama route soon after, arriving in Monterey, where the society had assigned him to work, on February 23, 1849.

When Dr. Willey had sailed from New York the discovery of gold was still unconfirmed. The contagious news reached his ship at New Orleans, and when he arrived in Monterey the town was in an uproar. Most of the men had left, or were preparing to leave, for the mines; he learned that San Francisco was likewise a deserted city. His mission seemed hopeless. He was unable to find a population stable enough to listen to his sermons. With a touch of despair he wrote in his diary: "Men seem to forget their souls in their interest for gold."

En route to California, and soon after his arrival, Willey met several other men who were interested in things other than gold and commerce: the making of homes and the building of a State. One of the first subjects discussed by these men was a plan for public education. Their plan included a college, even though all realized it would be years before anything above common schools would be needed.

Although he was unable to enlist enough support to build a church, Dr. Willey found other work to do. He taught school to a group of children in



College of California, Oakland, 1863



College Hall, Oakland, about 1880. "Now houses horses; formerly asses," said local wit



Horse Car to West Berkeley, 1896



Telegraph Avenue "Dummy" Line, 188

Colton Hall for six months, and became chaplain to the military post at Monterey. Convening of the Constitutional Convention in Colton Hall in September, 1849, brought him a step nearer his goal of founding a college: he was made one of the chaplains, and was present to hear the convention approve an instrument making it the duty of the forthcoming Legislature to "encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, moral and agricultural improvement." He later wrote of this convention: "Education found plenty of friends in that body, and the provision they made for common schools in the constitution was ample. The college plan also found friends among the members and some substantial encouragement."

With this encouraging action, Dr. Willey and his friends began acquiring financial support for a college. They went to San Jose, where the first Legislature convened in December, 1849, to press for passage of an act authorizing incorporation of colleges. This act was adopted on April 20, 1850, and three months later the Willey group made application for their charter.

A provision of the college incorporation measure required that applicants have at least \$20,000 in property. Dr. Willey and his friends had received pledges for more than this amount from pioneer California landholders, but titles to the land had not been adjudicated, and in December, 1850, the State Supreme Court rejected the application on grounds that the evidence of ownership was not sufficient to meet requirements of the law.

Meanwhile the interest of legislators and politicians in fostering higher education became increasingly evident, and for a time it seemed that a college might be established at their hands rather than at those of the educators. Thomas J. Green, a Senator from Sacramento, early in 1850 planned to introduce a bill creating a "Collegio de Minería"—a school of mines patterned after one in Mexico—but desisted when General Mariano Vallejo announced his lavish offer to donate sites and money for a

capitol, a university, and other institutions at Vallejo. The General's offer was enthusiastically accepted and Senator Green was one of three men appointed to plat the land. "University Hill" was the name of the eminence on which the school was to be placed; nearby was the somewhat higher "Capitol Hill."

When the 1852 session opened, opposition to the location of the capitol at Vallejo had crystallized, and it was argued that General Vallejo had not kept his part of the agreement—that the temporary structures were not as good as had been promised. During the ensuing contest for the capitol, the General's means became so depleted that he was unable to continue his offer of land and money; and when the capitol was finally located in Sacramento, no provision for a university was made.

Meanwhile private plans continued. Meetings were held, preliminary measures discussed. Letters, seeking help and advice, were written by Willey's group to Eastern friends, and answers full of encouragement and counsel came from members of the faculties of Harvard and Yale. Easterners began to think of building a university in California.

In the spring of 1853 there arrived in San Francisco by way of Panama a Massachusetts minister—Dr. Henry Durant—"with college on the brain" (his own description). He soon met Willey. Here was a cultivated scholar, already a successful teacher, with the strength and enthusiasm—despite his 50 years—to carry out plans that had been four years in the making. He was ready to begin at once, and presented himself to a joint session of the Congregational Association of California and the Presbytery of San Francisco (New School) in Nevada City. This session, from the ninth to the eleventh of May, 1853, adopted a plan to establish an institution of learning and referred the plan to a committee—composed of the Reverends Willey, S. B. Bell, J. A. Benton, and T. D. Hunt—empowered to coöperate with Durant in determining the expediency of establishing a college, and to organize and incorporate a board of trustees to which they would automatically belong.

Durant made a splendid impression. His presence alone seemed to proclaim his capabilities. As Dr. Willey has recounted, the consensus of opinion was "let him begin right off!" The immediate result was the investigation of Oakland as a possible school site, and the founding there of the Contra Costa Academy.

"Oakland was then a sprawling hamlet, with a few hundred people, with no well defined streets except Broadway, but having a great natural wealth of sand and fleas," a contemporary writer described it. Dr. Willey accompanied Durant on the first visit to Oakland. "A wheezy little steamer had got into the habit of crossing the bay two or three times a day to carry passengers," he related. "It was pretty regular except that it was liable to get stuck on the bar now and then. In this case it took us safely over. Oakland we found to be indeed a land of oaks, having one street, Broadway, extending from the landing toward the hills, with a few buildings here and there on either side, and a few houses scattered about among the trees."

It was "a speculator's town," and only one building was found vacant—the Washington Pavilion, which had been a fandango house, at what is now the corner of Fifth and Broadway. Rent for the "spacious and comfortable house was \$150 a month, payable in advance in gold coin."

On Monday, June 6, a month after he landed in California, Durant opened his "family high school for boys," with three pupils. The course of instruction comprised, according to an announcement in *The Pacific*, "besides those [subjects] usually taught in high schools, the Latin, Greek, and, if desired, the French, German, and Spanish languages . . . The price for board, washing, domestic care, and School Instruction will be \$12.50 per week, payable monthly, in advance: for Tuition alone \$10.00 per month. Each boarder will provide his own chamber furniture." Durant wrote to ministers and others interested in the school, asking them to send pupils, who he promised would be considered a part of his family and always be in his care. He hired a Mr. and Mrs. Quinn as housekeepers for \$150 a month and began operations.

The enterprise was expected to pay for itself and for Durant's living, but at the end of two and a half months the Quinns had received only a part of their wages. One day at noon Durant came into the dining room and found the place turned into a saloon. "Quinn had squatted on the lower part of the house, and put out his shingle: 'Lodgers and boarders wanted here. Drinks for sale at the bar,' " Durant related afterwards. "He had got up a bar-room with his bottles in it." Quinn told him that "whatever did not succeed in two months and a half in California never would succeed." Durant sent to a restaurant for lunch for himself and the boys, and immediately went to see a lawyer to have a complaint entered against the preëmtor. Without waiting for a trial Durant went back to Quinn's quarters "to clear out his fixings." Quinn tried to make him stop; Durant said he would not stop until he "had made an end of it." Quinn became enraged and started pushing Durant out of the place, "when suddenly he became pale as a cloth, lifted up his hands over his head, and began to pray . . . He regarded me as a priest," Durant explained, and he thought that he was committing an unpardonable sin by shoving a consecrated person around. "He told me I need not trouble myself to move the things, he would do it." Quinn was summoned before an extemporaneous police court, found guilty of getting up a nuisance, ordered to desist, and fined \$5. Durant forgave him, however, and the Quinns continued to keep house at the school.

The Washington Pavilion quarters were considered only makeshift. Though the enrollment these first few months was never enough to use all the available space, or to sustain the school financially, Durant and the friends of the college plan had grand visions. Hundreds of emigrants were streaming into California by wagon train and sailing vessel. The number of students was growing; soon there would be many young men of college level, and greater facilities must be provided. Durant was no sooner set up in the school at Fifth and Broadway than he started looking for a spot on which to build a more pretentious college plant.

It was his habit to stroll through the large groves of live oaks west of the *Laguna* (Lake Merritt), examining the land, weaving his dreams. One day at the end of Broadway he came across a mass meeting of squatters, two or three hundred "have nots" assembled there "discussing, haranguing, and working themselves up to the point of taking possession of all the unoccupied lands in Oakland . . . and dividing them off by drawing lots, giving each one something." The schoolteacher walked boldly among them, waved his hat in the air to get their attention, and told them briefly of his college plans. The squatters voted three cheers for the college, and upon hearing that Durant had his eye on a particular stretch of ground, bounded by what are now Twelfth, Fourteenth, Franklin, and Harrison Streets, they appointed a committee from their own ranks "to take charge of these four blocks, to keep them safe from interference from any quarter, and to hold them sacred to the use for which they had been voted."

Durant made a trip to San Francisco, where he secured \$1,100 in gold coin for a fence to enclose the property and protect it against other squatters. In September, 1853, it was reported that the fence was in progress. Professor Durant's first five months in California had, indeed, been active!

The indefatigable teacher also was able to raise enough money to start construction on the new site. But while the first building was being completed the funds gave out. The contractors, taking advantage of the situation, began negotiating to raise six or seven hundred dollars to finish the building, so that they could get a lien on it and obtain the property. In order to avoid such a development Durant consulted a lawyer, who told him to take possession immediately.

That night Durant and another man cautiously entered the house, putting a table, some chairs, and other furnishings in a room upstairs, where they went to sleep. They had nothing with which to defend themselves except an axe which Durant placed under his bed. Early the next morning the contractor entered the house. Coming to Durant's room and looking in, he asked, "What is here?"

Durant, rising, informed the contractor that he “didn’t mean any hurt to him” but that he was a little anxious to get into his new home. He then invited the contractor inside, giving the man to understand that he, Durant, was the proprietor.

The contractor left, but returned in a short while with two burly fellows. Durant’s companion had departed, leaving him alone. The men entered the room and took seats. After a brief conversation they apparently decided to eject Durant physically. The contractor got up from his chair. Said Durant later:

“I rose, too, then—about two feet taller than usual; I felt as if I was monarch of all I surveyed. I told him that if I understood him, he intended to move into the room. Said I, ‘You will not only commit a trespass upon my property, but you will do violence upon my body. I don’t intend to leave this room in a sound condition. If you undertake to do that, you will commit a crime as well as a trespass!’ That seemed to stagger them, and finally they left me in possession.”

This incident seemed to mark a turning point in the academy’s fortunes. With such a determined and resourceful proprietor it hardly could fail. As Dr. Willey said, “Dr. Durant proved himself to have not only the courage to begin a great enterprise, but the pluck and perseverance to stick by it.” Additional financial help came from outside friends, the first buildings were completed, and the new premises occupied in September, 1854.

By the following spring the school had fifty pupils. It was considered time to make another attempt at chartering a college. As the necessary property had been obtained and other legal requirements met, a charter for the College of California was signed by Governor John Bigler on April 13, 1855. The following were trustees: Frederick Billings, Sherman Day, Dr. Willey, T. Dwight Hunt, Mark Brummagin, Edward B. Walsworth, Joseph A. Benton, Edward McLean, Henry Durant, Francis W. Page, Robert Simson, A. H. Wilder, and Samuel B. Bell.

The trustees took over all the academy property, and the institution became known as the College School. The principal effect on its operation was the addition of courses intended specifically to prepare students for work of college grade.

"The school was popular, well conducted, and self-supporting," Dr. Willey said of it at this period. Trustees and supporters went at their work of building up the school "with renewed energy."

Little immediate effort was made to establish the college itself, as the trustees did not want to be charged with "anticipating the wants of the state." In 1856 the search for a permanent location was started, resulting in the selection of the Berkeley site two years later, but not until 1859 was serious attention given to inception of college classes. By then the preparatory school had brought seven students to the point of college freshman standing, and the trustees felt that "we must advance, or lose what has been done."

A primary reason for the delay in organizing college instruction, besides the reluctance to "anticipate the wants of the state," was lack of endowments. The College School was self-supporting, but the college could hope for no such independence. Letters and personal solicitations in the East brought negligible help, the usual response being that, since California was ribbed with gold, it should be able to support its own institutions. (Dr. Willey later estimated that less than \$10,000 came from the East during the entire history of the college.) But despite its bonanza reputation, California was populated far more with men of anticipations than with men of wealth, and the college's meager support came more from the former than from the latter class.

The college opened the doors of its own little building on the Oakland campus to a freshman class of eight, in the fall of 1860. It had six instructors: Professor Durant in the chair of "the Greek Language and Literature"; Professor Martin Kellogg, a graduate of Yale in 1850, in "the Latin Language and Literature"; Professor Isaac H. Brayton in "Rhetoric,

Belles-Lettres, and the English Language"; William K. Rowell, Teacher in Mathematics; Charles L. Des Rochers, Teacher in French; and José Manuel Y'Bañez (who was also enrolled as a student), Teacher in Spanish.

During its first year the college had no administrative head, but in the second year, with a new freshman class of ten added to its student body and the realization that administrative problems would multiply as each new class entered, Dr. Willey was prevailed on to become temporary executive head, with the title of vice-president. Several attempts were made to obtain a president from among Eastern educators, but the nominees all refused, and Dr. Willey remained head of the college until its disincorporation in 1869.

Lack of funds hampered plans for developing the new campus, but in 1864—when the first class was graduated amid gala commencement exercises—the trustees formed the College Homestead Association, to help support the school by sale of residential property adjoining the campus site. Frederick Law Olmsted, of a New York firm of landscape architects, was commissioned to lay out the grounds, and the “open grain fields” achieved the dignity of a name. However, the trustees had to contend with not only a public apathy, but a post-war depression. Their prospects for raising money to construct buildings on the new campus seemed slight. When, at the 1867 commencement exercises, Governor Low dropped the suggestion that the college combine its assets with the State’s resources, the idea—first received with “regret and apprehension”—was discussed by the trustees and finally adopted as the best course.

Prospects for a State-owned college, stalled for years by political discussion, had revived in 1862 with passage of the Morrill Act by Congress, offering liberal grants of land to States for use in building publicly-owned universities. In 1866 the Legislature passed a bill providing for establishment of an Agricultural, Mining, and Mechanical Arts College. The Byrne ranch in Berkeley, north of the College of California site, was selected as the location of the new school, largely through the influence of

Professor Durant, who felt that the two institutions would be mutually beneficial to each other.

With this action as evidence of the States' serious intentions, the college trustees voted on October 9, 1867, to donate their Berkeley site to the State for a university, and thereafter to disincorporate when the State institution was established. This decision was made on condition that the State should include the former College of California in its university as a College of Letters, a department of instruction which had not been contemplated in the previous legislative act. In compliance, the Legislature passed a new act chartering a university which became effective on March 23, 1868, with the signature of Governor Henry H. Haight. The charter organized the school into the practical College of Arts, the College of Letters, and the Professional Colleges, including Medicine and Law. The governing bodies were the Board of Regents, the legal entity and holder of university property; the Academic Senate, for control of internal affairs; and Faculties, to govern the different colleges.

The trustees of the College of California had expected to close their school at the conclusion of the spring term in 1868. However, at the request of the Board of Regents of the new university they extended their operations another year, so that it was not until September 23, 1869, that the State registered its first university students in the Oakland college building. The first group included 42 registrants, distributed through the four classes and the five colleges comprising the university. On July 20, 1870, the first commencement took place, with "imposing demonstrations" and three graduates.

The university was finally launched, but not on smooth waters. It was rocked and buffeted by controversies during its first years under State sponsorship. Dr. Willey and the trustees had expected that "the views and feelings of those who made the offer would certainly not be disregarded"; but newly elected Governor Haight, hostile to the college trustees, had taken office in time to sign the university charter, and he slighted the old

board in appointing his regents. There was still opposition to inclusion of a College of Letters in the new institution; a storm of protest swept the State over selection of General George B. McClellan by the regents as president (an offer which he declined), on the grounds that it was a partisan action; an attempt was made to abandon the Berkeley site in favor of San Francisco; and when finally the first two buildings had been constructed and occupied in Berkeley, accusations of graft and excessive profits in the construction of North Hall brought a legislative investigation. But despite these travails the university gave indication of being healthy and vigorous from the start. Its second-year registration was almost double its first, increasing to 78 students, and in its third year the enrollment nearly doubled again, jumping to 147.

It was in an atmosphere of celebration that graduation exercises for the first all-university class were held in unfinished North Hall on July 16, 1873. For Berkeley and the university they were in the nature of a hard-won triumph after a long and uneasy ordeal.

Prelude to Incorporation

THE TOWN was ill prepared for the arrival of the university. "From a physical point of view things were pretty well disorganized," said Fabian Franklin, biographer of President Daniel Coit Gilman. "The only communication with Oakland was by horse cars, and with San Francisco via Oakland. There were not sufficient accommodations at Berkeley for the students in the way of boarding-places and no residences for the professors, all of whom continued for a while to live in Oakland."

In a lecture on "Berkeley: the Bishop and the Site of the University," given in Oakland in January, 1873, President Gilman expressed a wish to see a "commodious hotel" in the college town, with a family restaurant attached. As if in answer, when the new campus buildings opened to students the following fall, what its management described as a "magnificent

hotel” with “grates and marble basins in every room” was ready to serve the public at the corner of Bancroft Way and Choate (now Telegraph) Avenue. Less biased observers saw it as a plain rooming house, accommodating about twenty people, and found little more encouragement in the rival University Hotel, which opened the following year.

But if sleeping in the new town was a problem to first-year students, eating there was a worse one. An Oakland paper predicted that the proprietor of a French restaurant near the campus would be apt to “bankrupt every hungry collegian on the premises” if he maintained his early price level. Some relief apparently came in 1874 from a grocery store, which advertised “all goods at Oakland prices,” and the pressure of competition from other business arrivals soon provided students with a moderate choice of patronage at prices reasonably near the metropolitan level.

Commensurate with the difficulties of living in Berkeley at this time was the inconvenience of getting there. Principal means of transportation was a horse-drawn streetcar, which carried passengers from Oakland to Berkeley, with a change in Temescal, in about an hour. Connections could be made with trains and ferries to San Francisco, the entire journey costing fifty cents a round trip. When the new line opened in 1872, the *Oakland Daily Transcript* had boasted that “for excursions and pleasure parties there is no other route in the State equal to this in scenery and comfort.” Students and other regular patrons, however, generally found the ride boringly slow. (On occasion, monotony was relieved by the boisterous pastime of rocking the car off the track, whereupon everyone would have to dismount and lift it back on again.) The car company proclaimed that its rolling stock was “of late pattern,” but few claims were made for the livestock that provided locomotion. Francis Sheldon, an undergraduate of this period, later recalled that “it was a tradition among the students, that the Car Company had only one horse. It did not seem probable that there could be another one that was so thin and so slow, and had so many raw places on him at once. But one day the brake broke on the down grade

to Temescal, and . . . the horse was run over and permanently disabled. It was feared the Company would have to stop business, but when the track was cleared, traffic was resumed with a new horse, so sorrel, so thin, so slow, and so raw, such an exact counterfeit of his martyred predecessor, that the student mind refused to accept him as a separate identity, and named him 'Phoenix' on the spot.'

In 1876 Phoenix was replaced by a steam "dummy" car, which took over the Temescal-Berkeley run. What became of him is not recorded, but probably he was transferred to the Oakland-Temescal line, because Oakland authorities refused to permit substitution of the new service within their city limits.

Proximity to the campus made Choate Avenue the first business center in Upper, or "East," Berkeley. Its development was steady, a notable accession in 1876 being a drugstore, operated by Dr. Sidney Smith Merrill, which became Berkeley's first postoffice station the next year. However, selection of Shattuck Avenue by the Central Pacific Railroad for the route of its ferry trains in 1876 gave that thoroughfare a sudden advantage as a business location and boomed real estate values in that section of town.

A greater rival, however, was the community which had already been established near the water's edge to the west—Ocean View, now more commonly called West Berkeley. While its progress had been far from spectacular, West Berkeley had been growing independently of the college district, with its own stage service to Oakland on San Pablo Avenue and with direct water connections to San Francisco.

Plans for ferry service between San Francisco and Jacob's Landing had been considered in 1871 and again in 1873, but not until 1874 was the service consummated. The initial boat churned out from the Green Street slip on October 1, 1874, to the strains of Alpers' Band, and 45 minutes later discharged its merry group of celebrants onto the hospitable shores of Berkeley, where, reported the *Alta California*, "the exercise produced by a walk along the thirteen hundred feet of planking, after debarking,

added to the sniffs of the sea breeze caught straight from the Golden Gate, sharpened the appetite and made the party ready for the sumptuous banquet spread in a cozy little grove, at the entrance to which stood Mr. Hiram T. Graves, President of the Ferry Company, inviting the guests to eat, drink and be merry.' Following the banquet the first trippers were left to the persuasions of auctioneers who had real estate lots to offer the farsighted. To complete the service a stage ran from the ferry landing to the university.

Aided by such astute promotion as this, West Berkeley had a real estate boom, the *Alta California* reporting in its October 18 issue that over 200 lots had been sold there, at prices ranging from \$175 to \$465. Its favorable situation also attracted manufacturers, and during the next three years four factories were added to its expanding business roster: the West Berkeley Planing Mills, opened in 1874 by J. H. Everding, local starchmaker and property-owner, but taken over in 1876 by the firm of Schuster and Neihaus; the California Watch Company, successor to San Francisco's Cornell Watch Company, which moved to Berkeley in 1876, then vacated its building to the Wentworth Boot and Shoe Company two years later and returned across the Bay; the Standard Soap Company, which erected a four-story building in 1877; and the Glove Factory and Tannery Company, which arrived the same year.

Construction of the main line Central Pacific Railroad into West Berkeley in 1877, the year after ferry trains began operating on Shattuck Avenue, gave that district another great boost and bolstered the conviction of its residents that it would easily outdistance its college-bred rival. West Berkeley obtained its own postoffice station that year, and on March 10 the weekly *Advocate* rolled off its first edition in a West Berkeley printing shop. Superior requirements of its industries also brought gas mains to this section of town in 1877, four years before service was provided to upper Berkeley. The district's boasts of business leadership seemed well justified.

In intellectual guidance, however, the balance was still with the college community. The next step for which the indefatigable professors pressed in the building of their town was incorporation. On January 20, 1874, Berkeley property-owners met in the home of County Supervisor F. K. Shattuck with Dr. Henry Durant, mayor of Oakland and former president of the university, presiding, to discuss incorporation. These included Shattuck, Judge John W. Dwinelle, Professor Rising, A. B. Dixon, Charles Dwinelle, John Kelsey, J. D. Colby, Peter Mathews, E. D. Harmon, John Kearney, James Edgar, H. E. Carlton, Arthur Edgar, Horace W. Carpenter, Captain Jacobs, James McGee, Peter McGee, J. T. Fowler, Messrs. Ashby, Townsend, Morse, Boleta, and Higgins. The meeting developed a three-way split among those who wanted to incorporate with Oakland, those who wanted to "keep out of the jaws of Oakland," and those who wanted to continue the easy tenor of their ways. The latter won out and the motion for incorporation was defeated.

But the professors, not easily discouraged, planned another meeting. This one was held in Union Hall on December 1, 1877, under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Kellogg of the university. Better groundwork had been laid this time: a committee, clothed with dignity and prepossessing authority, brought in a report capitalizing on the recent land boom and industrial development of the town in support of the conclusion that incorporation was a prerequisite to the town's future glory. The need for public schools, sewers, street-grading, and paving was pointed out. A. C. R. Shaw, a farmer, gave a minority report for the die-hards, but the professors had neatly timed the upswing in the hamlet's civic pride and had their way. A petition for a charter was presented to the Legislature in February, 1878, with President LeConte of the university heading the list of several hundred names. As the petition stated it: "The necessities and interests of the growing community will be subserved by the establishment of a local government which will encourage good order, good schools, and preserve the health of the community." Even the Oakland

Tribune saw the point and in its February 16, 1878, edition agreed that, although "it will always be a University town, and will, of course, be distinguished for the intelligence and good taste of its inhabitants . . . a marshall and a lock-up will be indispensable."

In the same week the *Oakland Times* reported a fast move on foot to annex Berkeley to Oakland, which would have brought \$10,000,000 of taxable property into the city, but swift action was engineered at Sacramento. The Assembly passed the chartering bill without a dissenting vote. The Senate, after giving the scholars a scare, finally approved it with a vote of 16 to 12. For some reason six of the eight senators from San Francisco did not want an incorporated university town across the Bay. Of the two Alameda County senators, one was for and one against. The governor signed the act of incorporation on April 1, 1878. The local *Berkeley Advocate* called it a measure "which clothes the village of Berkeley with municipal honors and . . . a dignity commensurate with its importance."

The entire Bay area awaited with curiosity, and the politically minded with some degree of concern, the evening of May 13, 1878, to see how the new town would initiate its political course. Two tickets were on the ballot—the Citizen's Ticket and the Workingmen's Ticket. The former was backed by the farmers and merchants of the community while the latter appealed to the workmen who were knocking together the new town, believers in the ideas of Dennis Kearney's Workingmen's Party as expounded currently in the sandlots of San Francisco. Significantly enough, many of the professors belonged to the latter party. By midafternoon of election day it appeared that the Citizens' Ticket was winning. The workers, who were already beginning to take their politics hard, mounted horses and charged through the community and surrounding hills to get out the vote—with the final result that their ticket won.

Berkeley's first trustees were Abel Whitton, James McGee, Charles Schnelle, Charles Davis, and Alphonso H. Broad. The school directors were M. Kellogg, W. B. Rising, Henry Bruns, Martin Dale, William M.

Johnson, and W. B. Starr. The town clerk was Edward L. Wright; treasurer, Louis Gottshall; assessor, Captain J. H. Jacobs; marshall, M. M. Gilman; constable, John F. Teague; and justices of the peace, James S. Carnall and Charles G. Beadell.

President Whitton of the Board of Trustees sounded a high note of civic endeavor when, upon the opening of the first meeting, he laid down a course of community development by stating that while the board should "encourage every legitimate enterprise tending to advance the interests and develop the resources of the town, we cannot on the other hand be too guarded in granting special privileges which will advance the interests of private parties with no compensating advantages to the community at large. In no way can any emolument accrue to the benefit of any member of this board."

Possibly in line with this program an ordinance was passed in June fixing salaries at \$25 per month for the treasurer, \$35 for the assessor, \$40 for the clerk, \$100 for the marshall, and \$100 for the town engineer. The little town stretched its new corporate legs and walked into the future.



House built by Captain J. Jacobs in 1854 (right), now at
725 Delaware Street—the oldest building in Berkeley



Berkeley Station in 1888, Look-
ing North on Shattuck Avenue



Berkeley from the head of Bancroft Way in 1874. Berkeley Hotel at far left; Hillegass home left foreground; South and North Halls center; Simmons ranch right foreground



University Campus, 1880; Home of Prof. Willard Bradley Rising, Chapel Street and Allston Way, in the foreground

1873-1903

III: "Athens of the West"

OPTIMISTIC, but somewhat premature, had been the boast of Governor Newton Booth in 1873 when he announced that the university on July 16 had taken possession of its permanent site in Berkeley: "As the Athens of the Pacific it looks down upon a busy highway of nations and is kept cool and pure by the salt sea-breezes of a limitless ocean." The town's 500-odd inhabitants—even its forward-looking academic element—had no such grandiose conception of their village. Some had moved here from San Francisco because they wanted to live in the country; they had opposed the imposition of a municipal government on their property in 1878. Others looked upon it as a pleasant retreat where learning and the good life could be pursued without interference from the rampant commercialism of Oakland and San Francisco. This attitude was shared by the Reverend Edward B. Payne, pastor of the Congregational chapel at Dwight Way and Choate (Telegraph) Avenue—Berkeley's first church. "We were hardly many enough then for factions and cliques," he later recalled, "and the tracing of those occultly determined lines which mark off social zones and temperatures . . . Berkeley . . . was then, for the most part, about as God and Nature and the ploughings of a few ranchmen had made it . . . The paths joining dwelling to dwelling were the worn ways of an impartial good-neighborhood . . . And it was even true that for a considerable time we had here but a single church, in which the variant faiths forgot their divergencies . . ."

The natural beauty of Berkeley's site in the shelter of the Contra Costa hills, the good society of the professors and their families, and the cultural opportunities afforded by the university attracted a class of residents to whom the atmosphere of books was congenial, so that by the time the Greek Theatre was built, in 1903, Berkeley had justified the Governor's well-meant metaphor. It was then the home not only of the Nation's second largest university, but of a score of lesser public and private institutions of learning, and it had achieved world renown as the abode of famous artists and writers.

Apart from the university, Berkeley's best-known institution of learning was the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Asylum, which had laid the foundations for its new building in 1867, three years before the university started construction on its new site. The inappropriateness of the institution's original name is indicated by its list of graduates, bearing the names of such persons as sculptor Douglas Tilden, whose prize-winning group, *The Bear Hunt*, now stands on the grounds of his alma mater (others of his well-known works are *The Football Players*, on the university campus, and two fountains on Market Street in San Francisco). The institution was renamed the California Institution for the Deaf and Blind in 1905, and was divided into two separate schools in 1921.

Proximity to the university made Berkeley attractive to proprietors of preparatory schools; many such schools were established during the decades immediately following 1873. Reflecting the current adulation in American education of all things German, the Berkeley Gymnasium was opened on Dana Street near Allston Way in 1877; it moved some years later to a building on Atherton Street just south of the campus. Here Cambridge-educated George Bates offered academic preparation while providing "a generous *cuisine*, a . . . feature . . . considered absolutely essential to the well-being of studious and growing youth."

In the eighties and nineties there were also Bowen's Academy, "a home school for boys," on University below Shattuck; Boone's University School,

on Durant Avenue just below Shattuck, which continued on into the twentieth century preparing boys for college; and St. Joseph's Academy, administered since 1878 by the Sisters of the Presentation. The Harmon Seminary for young ladies flourished in the middle eighties; and in 1887 Miss Anna Head established a school which still functions at its original location on Channing Way.

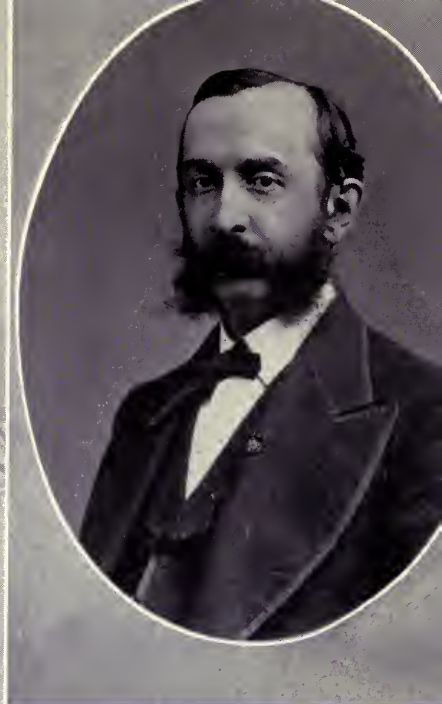
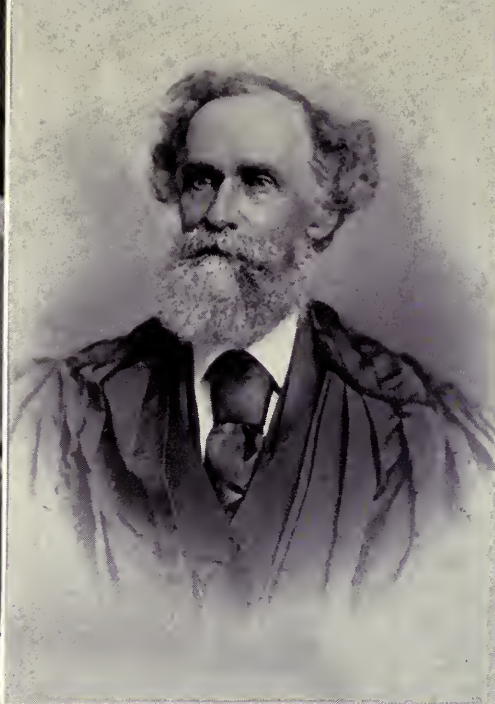
When the university first opened in Berkeley there was no local school to which faculty members and townspeople could send their children. The nearest public school was the Peralta School, on Alcatraz near Telegraph. This would have been no more than a comfortable walking distance for college students, many of whom hiked from Oakland to Berkeley on sunny days in vigorous disdain of the horse-car, but it was inconvenient for grammar school pupils. To meet this deficiency Mary Hyde, Maine-bred and missionary-minded, rented in 1876 a cottage in what is now Faculty Glade, and established a small private school. Her daughter, Constance Willis Camp, a present Berkeley resident, explains that Miss Hyde had come West because "she thought that Indians were roaming around this country neglected and ill treated and she wanted to come out and help them." While finding no Indians, she did find some substitutes who responded well to her teachings. Among her pupils were Joseph Nisbet LeConte, called "Little Joe" because his father was the great Professor Joseph LeConte; Charles Ramm, who became Monsignor Ramm, administrator of St. Mary's Cathedral in San Francisco and a regent of the university; Juliet Wilbur Tompkins, who was to write a series of popular domestic novels, and with whose family Mary Hyde boarded in Oakland; and the children of several other faculty members and townspeople. After the opening of the Berkeley Gymnasium, Mary Hyde went to teach there and took her pupils along to the new school.

Well fixed with private schools, the town long neglected its public system. The school board which was chosen in Berkeley's first election in 1878 included two university professors: Willard Bradley Rising and

Martin Kellogg (the latter was made board president). At that time the only institution in the board's jurisdiction was the Ocean View School in West Berkeley. One of the group's first acts was to purchase five lots on the southwest corner of Center and Oxford Streets and build what a contemporary newspaper called a "commodious school-house," named the Kellogg School for the board president. A small two-story frame building with high narrow windows, the school bulged with 300 pupils in its first year, and was further taxed by the addition of high-school classes in 1882. But although the need for better schools had been one of the chief arguments in favor of incorporation, the "Athens of the West" remained parsimonious towards its public system. As late as 1895 one member of the board of trustees declared that high schools were "luxuries" and should not be supported by public funds. In 1896 the citizens failed to pass a bond issue for much-needed new buildings, and the high school remained without an adequate home until 1901.

Besides acquiring prestige as a city of learning, Berkeley also achieved an early reputation for devoutness. "The churches of Berkeley are, as a rule, comely and cheerful edifices," stated the *San Francisco Call* on December 12, 1891, "and all of them well attended. Berkeley enjoys an immediate moral atmosphere, because the law prohibits saloons within a mile of the State University. The consequence is that the churches meet with little opposition and the moral growth of the city is not retarded."

Congregationalists had been foremost in founding and developing the College of California, and were the first to hold regular religious services in Berkeley. An appropriation of \$100 a month for that purpose was made in June, 1874, by the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and on the last Sunday of that month regular services were instituted in a room in the new Berkeley Hotel, at Choate Avenue (now Telegraph) and Bancroft Way, by the Reverend James H. Warren. In December the First Congregational Church of Berkeley was organized, and—with the assistance of members of the First Congregational Church of Oakland—a chapel was



The First Three University Presidents: Henry Durant, John LeConte, and Daniel Coit Gilman

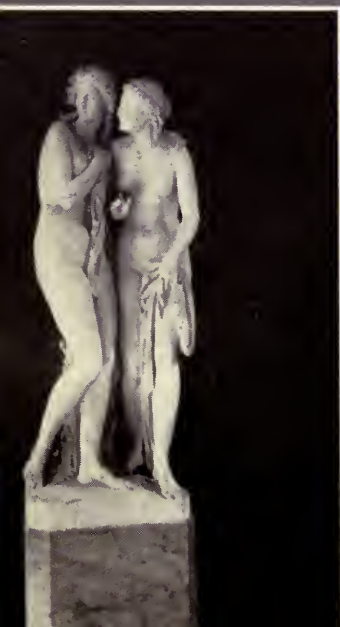


The "Twelve Apostles," Graduating Class of 1873. Left to Right: George C. Edwards, Jacob B. Reinstein, L. Leander Hawkins, Frank Otis, Franklin Rhoda, James H. Budd, Thomas P. Woodward, Ebenezer Scott, Clarence J. Wetmore, George J. Ainsworth, Nathan Newmark, John M. Bolton



R.O.T.C., 1890, South Hall in Background

Teutonic Sculpture, Worth Its Weight in Students



erected at the corner of Dwight Way and Choate Avenue, where the first service was held on March 22, 1875, by the Reverend Edward B. Payne. This chapel was moved a few years later to the school grounds at Center and Oxford, to become an annex to the Kellogg School, and the expanding church congregation moved into a new building at Dana and Durant.

Other denominations were not far behind the Congregational in establishing themselves in Berkeley. Episcopalians dedicated churches in both East and West Berkeley in 1878, and Presbyterians duplicated this accomplishment the next year. The Methodists and Roman Catholics were giving regular services in 1879 (although the latter had met two years before in a barn owned by Michael Curtis). In December of that year the San Francisco *Chronicle* was able to report that "there are six church buildings, seven church organizations and eight Sunday-schools in Berkeley." The city's church facilities kept pace with its growth in population, so that by the turn of the century most of the denominations were represented.

But although the town as a whole was religiously inclined—deceased citizens as late as 1898 were referred to (by W. C. Bartlett) as having "had a gentle transition, as if going a little way at the break of day"—it found a cleavage over the use and sale of intoxicating beverages. There was conflicting State legislation about the distance from the campus at which bars might operate. A law of 1876 merely prohibited the sale of vinous or alcoholic liquors within one mile of the grounds of the University of California, with the result that by 1890 West Berkeley had twenty-eight bars, "many of them gambling dens," and beer was sold within the mile limit.

Moreover, although the evangelical churches were still predominant, there was a relatively larger number of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians having less rigid views about wine, card parties, and dancing, and it was said that a university professor, a widely traveled member of the Seville Club of London, held at times with A. E. Housman that

*" . . . malt does more than Milton can
To justify God's ways to man."*

Disciples, Benefactors, and Co-eds

ON JULY 16, 1873, while carpenters and brickmasons were still at work on the first buildings—North and South Hall—twelve young men who had been studying for four years in Oakland received diplomas from President Daniel Coit Gilman. He informed them that, besides being *artium baccalaurei*, they were to be “apostles.” They were reminded that they were lineal descendants of those present at the first American commencement in 1642: “From that day to this . . . each harvest time has welcomed a new accession to the scholars’ ranks, and we are now repeating on the shores of the Pacific those academic usages. With these external rites let us strive to perpetuate the old spirit of the scholar, the spirit of labor and self-sacrifice, the love of learning and culture, the desire to gather up the past for the benefit of the future.”

Whether or not these twelve apostles strove “to perpetuate the old spirit of the scholar,” they became effective agents for the new university. Collectively they supplied to society a congressman and governor, a university regent, two university professors, three lawyers, two financiers, one minister, and two State and Federal special appointees. In partial realization of their success and of other early evidences of the university’s high standards, Governor Will Irwin said in his Biennial Message to the State Legislature in 1877:

“The Biennial report of the Board of Regents bears gratifying testimony to the progress the University has made. While its financial resources are not yet as ample as could be desired, nor its arrangements for imparting instruction and accommodating students as perfect as those of older institutions, it must be a source of profound gratification to its friends, and to all friends of the cause of sound learning in the State, that it has done so much to vindicate its character as a University. Great institutions of learning are not built up in a day. Time is an essential element in their growth and development. A foundation has been laid on which,

by patient, judicious, and persevering labor, a great University may be reared. And in my judgment it ought not to be expected that we, by any patent or hot-house process, will be able to accomplish in a few years what it has taken other States and countries decades, or even centuries, to achieve . . .”

Without benefit of a “patent or hot-house process,” the university progressed steadily, although the State was by no means generous in its support. In addition to funds for the original North and South Halls, the Legislature voted \$40,000 for the Mechanic Arts Building in 1874, and in 1877 matched Henry Douglass Bacon’s \$25,000 gift for a library and art gallery with a like sum; but then for a quarter of a century—aside from erecting some wooden classroom buildings—it left the university to depend chiefly on the generosity of private donors.

At his death in 1879, James Lick left \$700,000 for the establishment of the university’s Lick Observatory. “He had no idea,” Dr. Willey later observed in a published article, “of a college or what it was worth, none whatever. He could see the use of a flour mill, and of a fruit orchard, and of a hotel; but as to a college, he knew nothing whatever about it, and I have always thought that his providing in his will for the endowment of an astronomical observatory must have been the idea of some one else, and not himself.” To which the editor of the *Overland Monthly* added a parenthetical note: “(The world has already been told that this conjecture of Dr. Willey’s is quite true, and that Mr. Lick’s own idea, from which he was dissuaded with difficulty, was to build a marble pyramid, bigger than those of Egypt, in his memory.)”

A fund of \$75,000 to endow a chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity was donated to the university by D. O. Mills in 1881. Two years later the board of regents selected George Holmes Howison as the first Mills Professor of Philosophy after an extensive search. Howison accepted reluctantly. He had taught philosophy at Washington University in St. Louis and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in

Boston; had lectured at Harvard and at the University of Michigan; and had spent two years in Europe, mainly at the University of Berlin. He acknowledged misgivings about this university in the wilderness on the Pacific Coast, where hitherto philosophy never had been formally recognized. Within a year after his arrival in Berkeley, however, Howison expressed the opinion that the University of California was surpassed by only four or five of the oldest and richest foundations in the country, and he refused an appointment to the University of Michigan, which he had previously considered superior to the Western school. The Philosophical Union, organized by Howison in June, 1884, extended his teaching beyond the university. The Union was not confined to the campus, but included many of the intellectuals of San Francisco and the Bay region; some of the most eminent philosophical scholars in the English-speaking world were brought to Berkeley as its guests.

Bacon Hall, completed in 1881, and much admired for its Victorian Gothic detail and pedimented clock-tower, housed the library—soon enriched by Michael Reese's gift of a fund with which to purchase new books and the library of an expatriated German liberal, the historian and political economist, Dr. Francis Leiber. Bacon Hall also housed an art gallery including a number of works which, unlike the collections in its library, are not now regarded as among the university's treasures. These included sixty-five paintings, among them a "good" Cimabue and an "undoubted" Rembrandt, and three pieces of statuary: a marble copy of Johann Heinrich Dannecker's *Ariadne on the Panther*, and two groups by Johann Halberg, *Genius of America* and *Nymphs Bathing*. So impressive was the Teutonic weight of these sculptures that the authorities feared the floor would not support them. "To test this point," observed a contributor to the *Overland Monthly*, "a platoon of students, equal in weight to the statues, was told off from the battalion and marched up to the gallery floor. The floor not bending under the pressure, they were marched off again, and the statues in time triumphantly set up. The principle, I

suppose, was that the University could get more students should an accident occur, while it could not replace the statues if they were sacrificed instead.'

The furtherance of athletics, like the support of art, was made possible by a private gift. A. K. P. Harmon, born in Maine but long a resident of Oakland, erected on the bank of Strawberry Creek in 1878 a structure which because of its odd octagonal shape and surmounting turret became known as the "ink bottle." This was the Harmon Gymnasium, later enlarged and used by two generations of students not only for athletic activities but for dances, graduation exercises, and bi-weekly university meetings. Many noted visitors spoke at these meetings, which were a link between "town and gown."

The first athletic activities at Berkeley were the interclass baseball contests, started in 1873. The underhand toss remained in vogue until the "modern curve system" was introduced in 1881. Football first was played in 1882; the opponent was the Phoenix Club of San Francisco, composed of former English players and members of athletic clubs. Phoenix won by one goal of two tries; Rugby Union rules were in force.

Not until 1895, when its track team of twelve men invaded the East, did the university achieve widespread athletic recognition. Within three months the Berkeley team won the Western Intercollegiate in Chicago; defeated Princeton, Union College, the University of Illinois, and the Denver Athletic Club; and tied the score in competition with the University of Pennsylvania. It lost only to the Chicago Athletic Club.

As elsewhere in American schools and colleges, all sports were innocent of twentieth-century organization and efficiency, although a training table was inaugurated in the nineties: "a light breakfast about 8, meat and baked potatoes, milk for the light men, and oat meal for the heavyweights; for lunch at 2:30, fried meat, poached egg, and toast; for dinner soup, roast beef and thick juicy steaks and fruit; no coffee or tea, no smoking, or drinking nor profane language in playing allowed." Despite such

restrictions, said the *Advocate*, "the boys are much pleased with the training table . . . at Mrs. Fitzgerald's on Dana Street and endure their enforced diet without a murmur." It was doubtless such Spartan endurance that enabled the football teams of 1898 and 1899 to defeat Stanford by 22 to 0 and 30 to 0 respectively.

The Vrooman Act, which the State Legislature passed in 1887, by providing an annual tax of .01 per cent on all taxable property in the State for the support of the university, made possible new departments and better salaries. Also forthcoming were other generous private gifts. A part of the estate of the Nevada millionaire James Flood greatly strengthened the College of Commerce. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, widow of George Hearst, millionaire mining man and United States Senator, established a number of scholarships and gave Hearst Hall to the university. This gymnasium and social center for women students was built from plans drawn by a brilliant young architect, Bernard R. Maybeck. The structure was a large shingled building having at either end two huge wooden pointed arches rising from the ground to the apex of the roof. On the second floor was a large hall (140 by 54 feet) with an open pointed arched roof, each bay having a shallow alcove furnished with Gobelin tapestries and rugs. The women students at last had come into their own.

In theory, coeds since 1870 had been entitled to all the privileges extended to men. In practice, instructors and male students at first had looked on them with distrust, fearing that their admission would "lower the tone of the institution." "But fear not, brethren, women are not our equals," an undergraduate comforted his male classmates in a satirical article, "Views of an Ecclesiastic About Lady Students," in *The University Echo* for May, 1873. He went on to give several hints on proper masculine conduct:

"First.—No matter if your female class-mate—who has had the audacity to choose the same college as yourself—is cleverer than you; no matter if she is, by natural talent and inclination, better fitted for the profession

which you will both follow—prejudice, tradition and precedent are against her. But never mind, snub the girl, who, in the face of all, has dared to enter the University. Remember that she has a nobler ambition than to be married, that she has other longings than to be pretty and engaging. Remember this and snub her.

“Second.—Stare at her every time she passes you.

“Third.—Don’t for the world, salute her courteously as a fellow-student, though she has been your class-mate for a year.

“Fourth.—Let her see that you think her in the wrong box.

“Fifth.—Don’t ask her to join your societies. It’s a bore to have girls there any way, for you can’t say just precisely what you would like.

“Sixth.—Don’t believe that earnest, pure-minded girls would have a good influence on you or your society.

“Seventh.—Think it manly to speak contemptuously of all such nonsense and bitterly oppose the co-education of the sexes.

“Eighth.—Sink the gentleman in the student.

“Ninth.—And last—Don’t confess that the sight of a petticoat makes your gawky heart quake, and conceal from the world that, like an old bachelor or a baby, you secretly fear every woman but your mother.”

The women students were neither intimidated nor fooled, and soon established their right to enter the halls of higher learning. A former undergraduate, Francis E. Sheldon, wrote in 1886: “Today the admission of female students is no longer an experiment. It is an established and successful fact. They rank as high as their masculine co-workers in the college studies, and by their good qualities and tact have shown conclusively that there is no danger, either to them or to the boys, in the mingling of the sexes while in class.”

Though North Hall early provided “a sitting-room for the young ladies,” as late as 1891 no provision had been made for the physical education of women students. At length a group of the more resolute young women called upon the gymnasium instructor. He reluctantly agreed to

give them one hour's instruction a week—after the boys had gone home—but quickly added that he could not admit anyone without a medical examination, for which no money was provided. Male obstinacy seemed to have won out, but at this point a young woman physician, Dr. Mary Bennett Ritter, saved the day by offering to give physical examinations without fee. Such was the belated beginning of physical education for women at the university. Construction of Hearst Hall was a grand climax to their triumph.

Town and Gown

GROWTH of both university and town was slow during the early years. The university enrollment of 514 in 1878-79 rose to only 611 in 1888-89, and the town just passed the 5,000 mark in the census of 1890. In 1892, however, when the Reverend Edward B. Payne, who had been pastor of the First Congregational Church when it opened in 1875, returned to Berkeley with a changed faith as pastor of the Unitarian Church, he found that no longer were the streets "only country roads." As early as 1886 the *Blue and Gold* boasted that the town had grown: "The howl of the coyote is seldom heard by the belated student; in its place he hears perhaps the Berkeley Choral Society as it rehearses one of its delightful concerts."

This was a change indeed from the primitive days when there were wildcats and coyotes on the campus and when certain members of the faculty passed by a footbridge over Strawberry Creek (where Sather Gate now stands) and crossed Allston Way to Merrill's Drug Store (which was also the post office) to foregather in a back room with nonacademic informality. No one then ventured out on dark nights without his lantern, and the well-bred young man always lighted the lantern of the young lady he escorted home from choir practice.

It was assumed, however, that Berkeley would always be a "place of magnificent distances": the hills and canyons in back of the town were depicted by naturalist John Muir as "a region virtually untrodden by



Telegraph Avenue Entrance to University Campus, 1880



Extravaganza in Ben Weed's Amphitheater, Site of the Greek Theatre, 1899



University Library, Bacon Hall.
1893; Librarian J. C. Rowell at left

man save an occasional botanist, geologist or sportsman." From their abode of plain living and high thinking the town's residents all "enjoyed an unobstructed view of the bay and the opening into the Pacific seemed so wide and ample that every resident . . . claimed for his own house the distinction of being 'exactly opposite the Golden Gate.'" Though on clear days they could easily discern the Palace Hotel being built across the Bay in that luxury-loving city they distrusted, access to and from the rest of the Bay area was difficult enough to assure them a pleasant isolation, well suited to the New England reserve of many of the town's leading citizens.

Proximity of "the City" was not without its baneful influence on the undergraduates, however. The very advertisements in the student magazine, *The Occident* (which started in 1881 as a gossipy chronicle of campus news), were a lure to Babylon, directing young men to "Brink's nobby hats," young women to "Dickey's famous creme de lis for the complexion," and both to a performance of *H.M.S. Pinafore* at the Tivoli Beer Gardens. The early worldliness of the students was indicated by an editorial which attempted to dismiss as unwarranted the attacks of the *Occident's* town contemporary, the *Advocate*, on the 1881 freshman-sophomore rush and the beer-drinking which followed.

The townspeople were hard pressed to combat the undergraduate flights from boredom. In 1882 a free reading room was established but soon closed for lack of funds. Ten years later Dr. J. Edson Kelsey and attorney William H. Waste, observing that boys and young men frequented a billiard room in which there were both drinking and gambling, decided that there should be some place where youths could spend their evenings "reading or in an innocent game or in singing." The *Advocate* by its editorials, the Women's Christian Temperance Union by a donation of 250 books, and the university's assistant librarian, Joseph D. Layman, by a gift of a set of the works of Oliver Wendell Holmes, succeeded in establishing in the Shattuck Block what (at Layman's suggestion) they called the Holmes Public Library. Besides the library proper, there was a room

with a Brussels carpet known as the "Fireside," where patrons could play checkers. The library was augmented at "book socials," where everyone attending donated a book; new volumes included, besides such standard works as Dickens, Thackeray, and Scott, the novels of the currently popular and eminently ethical Lew Wallace and E. P. Roe. The upper story of the building at the northwest corner of Allston Way and Shattuck Avenue served as the home of the library until a Carnegie grant provided for a new building in 1905.

Students were brought into direct contact with townsmen by at least two cultural organizations. The Berkeley Choral Society was established in 1885 by residents of Berkeley "primarily for their own musical culture through the study of choral music of the highest class," said the *Blue and Gold*, and added that "the interest expressed by friends of the society in its progress soon made it evident that choral concerts given by the society would be highly appreciated and it has now become the policy of the organization to give such concerts whenever they are prepared."

The student yearbook went on to explain that "the society has . . . the duty of promoting and gratifying the musical taste of this community by means of instrumental concerts and musically illustrated lectures . . . It is intended that these instrumental concerts shall be of the highest class so that the best musicians of the Coast shall feel desirous of participating in them; while the musical lectures will be such as to draw intelligent music lovers from all the region around the Bay.

"The Society is formally affiliated with the University, its executive control always remaining in the hands of members of the University. Rehearsals, concerts and lectures are held in University halls."

There also had been established in 1883 the Longfellow Memorial Society, "to provide new and even larger opportunities for the increase of literary culture and at the same time to aid in the development of social life within the limits of an organization including both University students and town residents," the *Blue and Gold* explained.

Francis Sheldon added a further note on the Longfellow Society for readers of the *Overland Monthly*: "Its membership is limited, because of the necessity of keeping it from out-growing the parlors of the ladies of Berkeley that entertain it. At its meeting a professor or other person of ability reads a paper on some literary topic, which is afterwards discussed in the most informal and often in the most delightful fashion. Nobody that has heard Professor Joseph LeConte and Professor Howison measure words in debate of some deep question is ever likely to forget it. These exercises are lightened by singing and followed by social chat."

This was verging on heavyweight entertainment for the undergraduates, most of whom felt more at home in their own off-campus organizations, which became numerous in the nineties. Zeta Psi and Phi Gamma Delta, the first two national Greek-letter societies to have chapters in Berkeley, were followed by a number of others, including those soon to be called sororities. In 1893 there was erected at Allston Way and Dana Street, in memory of Anson G. Stiles, a pioneer founder of the university, a large brick and shingled building, Stiles Hall. Here a variety of social organizations—Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., glee clubs, and debating societies—engaged in extracurricular activities. Still another "activity" was started in 1896: on February 29 of that year Labor Day was inaugurated as an academic holiday on which once in four years all men students were to turn out to build new roads or grade the campus grounds.

The faculty had its own special avenues of contact with the townspeople. One of the most respected and exclusive of these was the Berkeley Club, founded in 1873 with twenty charter members selected from among professors and the town's leading intellectuals. Its program was maintained "with great tenacity" in the same pattern for a quarter century, said William C. Bartlett, in a historical review of the club in 1898. "There was to be a plain dinner as a rallying point for social communion, then a paper, followed by a discussion, during which every member could speak without reserve—freeing his mind as far as possible in seven minutes . . .

"This confidential relation . . . stimulated freedom of thought and speech . . . The sparks have sometimes been struck off and the electric bells freely rung . . . There has been no limit to the range of subjects brought under discussion. Philosophy, history, political economy, physics, biography, government, law, ethics, higher education, finance, literature, the culture of manhood, and the culture of a rose, the evolution of an eye, the transit of Venus, the occultation of Mars and the underworld which the microscope reveals . . ."

Not to be outdone by the masculine element among Berkeley's intellectuals, the feminine members of the Ebell Society, using the Berkeley Club as their model, managed to subordinate, wrote Bartlett, "all social ambitions to a love of letters, research and study befitting the earnest and thinking women of the day."

Less formal centers of social life were those homes of well-to-do Berkeley residents where the university's professors were entertained. The "Belle Rose" of Judge and Mrs. John Garber was among the most hospitable. Built in 1888 near the present location of the Claremont Hotel, this stately home with its spacious library, its dining room with a sixteen-foot ceiling, and its walnut staircase held open house to the brothers LeConte, Josiah Royce, and others; and here to converse with them and to taste the Judge's excellent wines came William T. Coleman, Dr. Paolo De Vecchia, and many another eminent California pioneer.

Another gathering place was the home of William Keith, who found inspiration for many of his landscapes in the Berkeley hills. Though Keith was chiefly interested in his work, his wife made their home a hospitable rendezvous for such intimate friends as the LeContes, Charles Warren Stoddard, Edward Rowland Sill, John Muir, Charles Lummis, George Wharton James, Ina Coolbrith, the Reverend Joseph Worcester, and Charles Keeler.

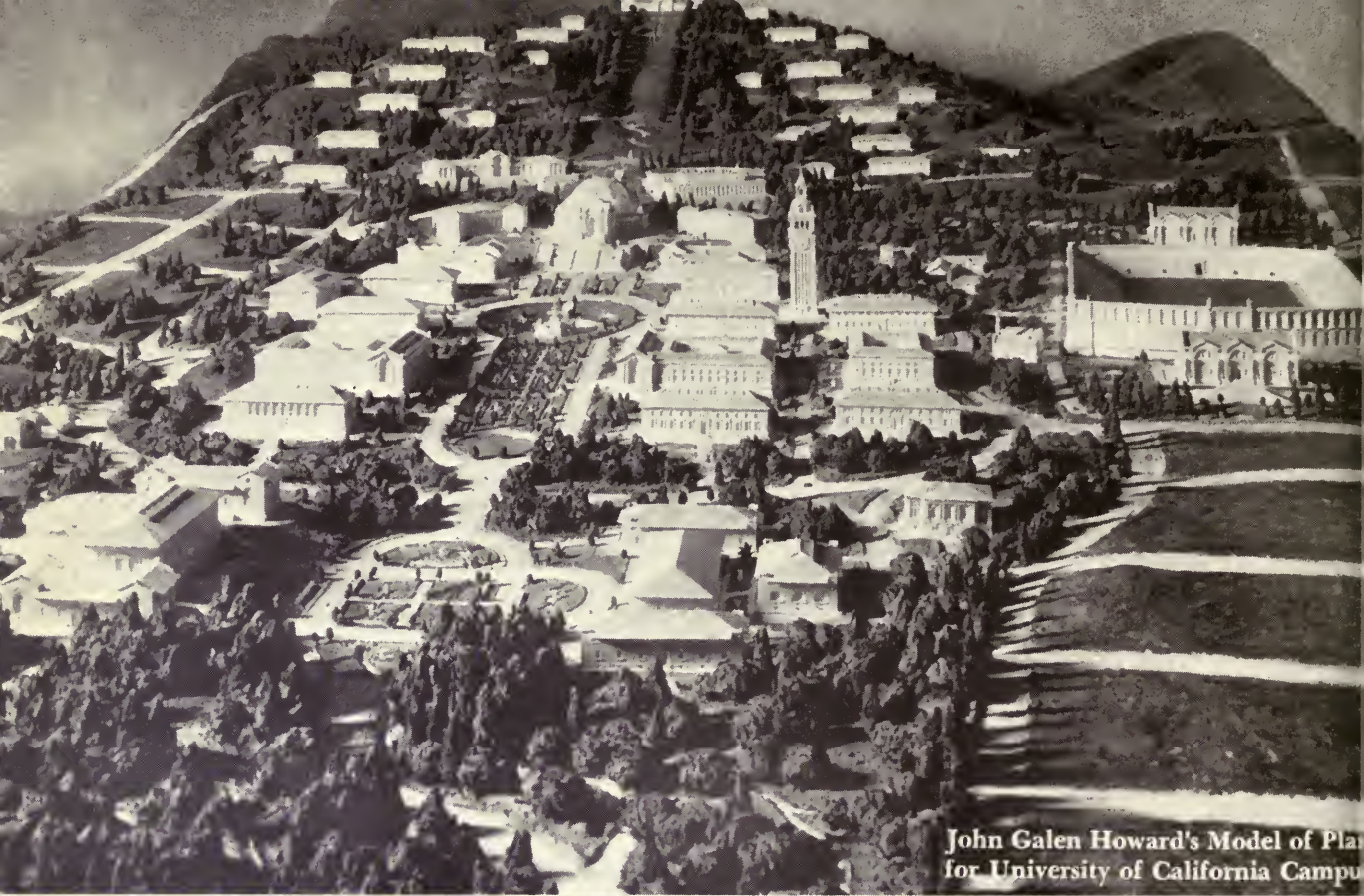
Mrs. Keith, née Mary McHenry, first woman graduate of the university's Hastings Law School, was active in the Berkeley Political Equality



David Farquharson Plan of University of California Campus, 1870



Hearst Prize Plan of Emile Bénard, 1898



John Galen Howard's Model of Plan
for University of California Campus



Air View, University of California Campus

Society, an organization fostering women's rights. Still living in Berkeley, she recalls entertaining Susan B. Anthony, Sarah B. Cooper, Elizabeth Yates, and other prominent "suffragettes" who came from the East to the Woman's Congress in 1895. To an evening session of the congress, Professor Joseph LeConte was invited to speak; a polite but firm opponent of the suffrage movement, he amazed the delegates by talking for two hours on the subject of evolution.

In addition to the clubs and social groups with a definite university tinge, the town had its chapters of the fraternal organizations common to all American towns: Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Foresters, and other lodges with their feminine auxiliary organizations. Somewhat unusual among California communities was the relatively large number of women wearing the white ribbon of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (it was their influence which gave the name of Frances E. Willard to one of Berkeley's public schools). Less dogmatic but distinctly Berkeleyn was the women's Town and Gown Club, organized in 1898 to unite the town and university elements: with a membership equally divided between the two, the club's three sections were concerned respectively with the Bible, current events, and reading.

Besides lectures, polite social activities, and "highbrow" conversation, Berkeley's culture-hungry citizens as early as 1880 were demanding music. Clarence S. Merrill, son of the postmaster, helped assemble an orchestra. Old Woolworth Hall, seating 700, became thrice yearly the scene of concerts played by business men and professional men turned musicians; and before this orchestra was disbanded in 1895 its original dozen members had been augmented, by the addition of student musicians from high school and university, to forty or fifty players. In 1885, Merrill organized Berkeley's first band, which performed at civic functions and at celebrations of national holidays; and for a short time he managed to maintain a University Band of which California's future Governor George Cooper Pardee was the drum major.

The townspeople also joined with the university contingent in watching and performing in plays, staged in Shattuck Hall, on Shattuck Avenue between Center Street and Allston Way. Here also Berkeley heard Anna Shaw and Susan B. Anthony campaign for women's rights; here Carrie Nation waved her hatchet and Caruso sang. More informal was the skating rink on Bancroft Way just above Shattuck Avenue. Besides being a gathering place for skaters, the rink was headquarters for church "socials," political meetings, athletic clubs, and dancing schools.

The high academic level which the university maintained from the start was indicated by many activities of its professors outside the classroom. The *Berkeley Quarterly*, which began publication in 1880, reflected the interests of some notable members of the faculty: Bernard Moses, educated at Harvard and Heidelberg, wrote on the communism of early Christianity; Josiah Royce, an early graduate of the university who, after studying Kant and Hegel at Göttingen, had returned to California, discussed "natural rights" and Spinoza's essay on liberty; Joseph LeConte dealt with the effect of the mixture of races on human progress. And Yale graduate Edward Rowland Sill, between busy days instructing the undergraduates in English and writing chastely classical verse, contributed an article on literary Utopias.

In 1889 Charles Mills Gayley came to fill the chair of English language and literature and to broaden the influence of the university by opening his popular lectures to the general public. Lecturing on great books and the scholarly editing of high-school texts were only a few of Gayley's contributions. Eugene W. Hilgard was carrying on research which later would be of great value to California agriculture. Hilgard was credited with an astonishing faculty: it was popularly rumored that he could tell the source of any spoonful of soil brought in for his inspection, even if it came from outside California.

The undergraduates, like the faculty, had publications in which to express their views. The *Berkeleyan* was created in December, 1873, by

consolidation of two campus publications, the *University Echo* and the *Neolaean Review*. Early student periodicals were published at the university printing office, concerning which Francis E. Sheldon in 1886 reported: "The presses and material belong to the students, and the University provides a foreman, whose duty it is to teach any and all students applying the mysteries of the art preservative. Two weekly papers are issued from this press, the work on them, financially, mechanically and editorially being performed by the students alone . . . [The student] receives instruction gratis, either in press work or at the case, and as soon as he is fitted to do work on the papers that can be utilized, he is paid for that work at current rates. Thus, after a few weeks' practice, the student's leisure hours become a source of income, which has enabled more than one aspirant to hold on until his sheepskin was safely in his grasp. And, further, the technical training is such that, when the graduate gets out into the world, he has a trade he can depend on for a living, while working off his conviction that he is fitted to begin at the top of business life."

It was the *Berkeleyan* which, on June 1, 1874, contained the following reverent report: "Few incidents in our college life at Berkeley have given more pleasure to the college circle, teachers and scholars alike, than the recent visit of Mr. Charles Kingsley. It was not as Canon of Westminster, nor as Professor of History in the University of Cambridge that we greeted him; but as the poet, the novelist, the essayist and the scholar; as the man who is ever ready to advocate the truth, ever quick to encourage progress, ever ready to utter the best aspirations of the human soul."

Berkeley attracted many other celebrities to awe and inspire the students. Charles Keeler, a nature poet, was long a resident and a local publisher. Dr. Frederick L. Hosmer, best known as a writer of hymns, was pastor of the Unitarian Church. Joaquin Miller's "Abbey" in Oakland was near enough to enable him to be a frequent visitor after declaring that "the poets must and shall be educated here." With an extensive knowledge of the Oakland waterfront, oyster piracy, and opium smuggling, Jack

London, aged twenty, enrolled at the university as a freshman; but he and Berkeley soon found each other incompatible. London had been preceded by Frank Norris, who remained at the university for two years, reading more of Émile Zola (of whose naturalism Norris was to become a distinguished exponent) than of the classics assigned by his instructors, before his failure in mathematics compelled him to leave without a degree.

Plans for the Future

EARLY in the development of the Berkeley campus the need for an adequate architectural plan for the future had become obvious. In October, 1896, Phoebe Apperson Hearst offered to contribute funds "to obtain, by international competition, plans for the architectural improvement of the University grounds."⁴ Her offer was accepted by the regents, to whom \$5,000,000 was available for construction, and the resultant contest brought the name of Berkeley into prominence throughout the world.

"It is the desire of those who have charge of this enterprise," said the prospectus issued to contestants and to the press, "to treat the grounds and the buildings together, landscape gardening and architecture forming one composition, which will never need to be architecturally changed in all the future history of the University." Of the buildings contemplated, there were to be "at least twenty-eight, all mutually related, and, at the same time, entirely cut off from anything that could mar the effect of the picture. In fact, it is a city to be created,—a City of Learning,—in which there is to be no sordid or inharmonious feature. There are to be no definite limitations of cost, materials or style. All is to be left to the unfettered discretion of the designer . . . There will doubtless be development of science in the future that will impose new duties on the University, and require alterations in the detailed arrangement of its buildings, but it is believed to be possible to secure a comprehensive plan so in harmony with the universal principles of architectural art, that there will be no more necessity of remodeling its broad outlines a thousand years hence than

there would be of remodeling the Parthenon, had it come down to us complete and uninjured.”

First prize of \$10,000 was won by Henri Jean Emile Bénard of Paris, whose plan provided an admirable group of buildings in the Beaux Arts tradition, extending by a series of courts, terraces, formal walks and drives, and flights of steps up the hill where the Big C now lies. The estimated cost was \$80,000,000. Following his appointment as professor of architecture, John Galen Howard of New York modified the Bénard plan. (The later buildings on the campus were nearly all designed by Howard, whose firm won fourth prize in the competition.) Ground was broken for the President’s House, first of the Bénard Plan buildings, in 1900; and the cornerstone of the Hearst Memorial Mining Building was laid in 1902. The women’s gymnasium, donated by Phoebe Apperson Hearst, was erected in 1903.

Though the enrollment at the university had grown to 2,660 by the turn of the century, Berkeley was becoming less predominantly a college town. Many of the new shingled houses designed in the manner of large Swiss chalets or Elizabethan cottages were the residences of business-men who commuted each day to San Francisco by train and ferry. Berkeley’s residents included such architects as Bernard Maybeck, Clinton Day, and Walter H. Ratcliff; such landscape gardeners as John W. Gregg and George Hansen. There were men retired from military service, such as Naval Commander Henry Glass and General Charles R. Greenleaf (who had been chief surgeon of the Army in the field during the Spanish-American War). Here Walter Handel Thornley was composing for piano and organ; Warren Cheney, who had been editor of the *Overland Monthly*, was selling real estate and continuing his literary interests; and Duncan McDuffie, also a realtor, found time to serve as president of the Civic Art Commission. Friend William Richardson was editing the *Gazette*; Eleanor Gates (Mrs. Richard Walton Tully), though still a journalist, was on her way to becoming a popular novelist; and Aurelia Henry (not yet Mrs.

Reinhardt) was editing Elizabethan dramas and the *Monarchia* of Dante.

“Society” was becoming a bit more sophisticated. Formal evening attire had been almost unknown in the seventies and eighties, but now the world was informed that “Berkeley women display the best of taste, always wearing the proper gown for the occasion.”

One may assume, therefore, that not only were the right things said but that the proper clothes were worn on that day in late October, 1899, when some five thousand people assembled for the inauguration of a new university president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler. The regents had followed tradition in their choice: a New Englander, the son of a clergyman, a graduate of Brown University, who had done graduate work in Germany and had been professor of Greek at Cornell. The setting was the bleachers of the cinder track at the western end of the university campus. A fine grove of eucalypti set out a generation before towered well above the native oaks and sheltered the academic procession from the warmth of the Indian-summer sun. The presence of President David Starr Jordan of Stanford was a reminder that the University of California now had a local rival, in scholarship as well as in athletics. In the procession also was former President Gilman, now of Johns Hopkins University, who could remember the pioneering days a quarter of a century earlier when Henry George had talked of the iniquity of taxing the people to educate at the State’s expense “a few rich men’s sons.” “Then support of the University was grudgingly given. Now it [was] given proudly and gladly.”

Such was the attitude which inspired the gift by William Randolph Hearst of the Greek Theatre, erected in 1903 in the hollow of a eucalyptus grove toward the eastern end of the campus—the first Greek Theatre to be built in modern times. The hollow, known previously as Ben Weed’s Amphitheater in honor of a student of that name who had discovered its adaptability for theatrical productions, had been used for many university events before President Benjamin Ide Wheeler conceived the idea of building a Greek Theatre there. The theater was used for the first time—

before the structure was completed—when President Theodore Roosevelt delivered the commencement address at exercises held on May 16, 1903. It was formally dedicated September 24 of that same year.

Early in the new century Berkeley was looking forward confidently to a future in which it would be, if not the “Athens of the West,” at least the cultural repository of American civilization on the Pacific Coast.

1878-1908

IV: Years of Growth

DURING ITS EARLY YEARS, Berkeley showed signs of developing a dual personality. Although the town's commercial development was obscured by its fame as a city of learning, business was as important as education in its early growth.

In 1878, the year of its incorporation, Berkeley was still a somnolent little town composed largely of wide open spaces, with 1,600 or 1,800 inhabitants clustered in small groups over several square miles of farm land. An old-timer, Otto Putzker, describes one part of Berkeley as resembling a big ranch. "From our house on Telegraph Avenue we could see tall grain fields in all directions . . . From Shattuck down to the water there were truck gardens and swamps. At Ashby, around Shattuck, Adeline, and Grove, I had a rowboat and used to go duck hunting. Then there were lots of cattle driving through this town. I've seen cowboys, the real thing, driving steers by the thousands right over the hills."

To Berkeley's cultural pioneers, its rustic air at this period may have suited their conception of a western Athens modeled on some bucolic New England college town. But if the satisfaction of Berkeley's material wants received less attention at first than the fulfillment of its spiritual needs, such a one-sided development was not long to continue. During the years after 1878 the town grew commercially so steadily that by 1906 a writer could say that "there are soap works, match factories, glass works, foundries, starch works, wholesale printing establishments, manufactories of perfumes and medicines, and a thousand other vocations . . ."

From the start, West Berkeley was the home of the town's industry, just as "East," or "Upper," Berkeley was its cultural center. Favorable waterfront sites had attracted several manufacturing concerns by 1878, so that for several years the district matched, or surpassed, its college rival in stores, utilities, transportation, and other factors which promote growth. It benefited especially by the advent of the Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific Railroads, which built lines near the shore, connecting with overland routes and with deep-water transportation. West Berkeley was an ideal spot for industry.

Evidence of its commercial growth during the eighties is seen in the depiction of current business in the holiday number of the Berkeley *Daily Advocate*, December, 1892: "Stimulated by this great increase in the means of communication Berkeley began the march of improvement which has been so marked . . . continuous and uniform, although at no time taking upon itself anything like a boom." Some of the commercial activities of the time are noted. "The manufacture of choice cigars is a West Berkeley industry, conducted by R. Albrecht, who also keeps on hand a selected assortment of cigarettes . . . R. W. Baker, dealer in choice Groceries and Provisions, Wood and Coal, Hay and Grain . . . John Vasey, the West Berkeley blacksmith, is a pioneer in his line . . . The West Berkeley Lumber Yard is closely identified with the history of Berkeley almost from its beginning. It was a landing place first, whence grain and cattle were shipped . . . the facilities for an extensive trade, whether by rail or by teams, are the very best. The wharf, extending a third of a mile into the bay, offers ample opportunity for the discharge of cargoes of lumber . . . A spur from the main line of the Southern Pacific Company runs down the dock to its end, so that, when necessary or desirable, cars can be loaded directly from vessels or from lumber piles—the expense in this way being reduced to the lowest point . . . Mr. Taylor . . . has also lines of lime, plaster, cement, hardware, brick and sewer and chimney pipe . . . E. J. Stewart is the affable manager of the Comstock-Watson Real

Estate Company. His firm does a vast business in realty, and offers such inducements that, though their margin is necessarily small, they are more than compensated by the greatly increased number of sales."

Architects and builders, real estate and insurance agents, merchants of crockery and woodware ("Goods . . . delivered free in all parts of town") advertised their wares or services in the *Advocate*. "Bayley, the photographer at 515 Seventh Street, gives satisfaction," noted the paper, which went on to laud the lawyers, stove dealers, and physicians of the town, and said: "We know what we are talking about when we say that the Berkeley Livery Stable is a good place to go to when you want a horse and buggy, a saddle horse, or a spanking good team and elegant outfit . . ."

Tug-of-War: West vs. East

WEST BERKELEY considered itself the core of the town. It looked down rather patronizingly on the university and residential parts of Berkeley. As late as 1908 the *Berkeley Citizen* noted that "the various business centers of town are so scattered that each has a local interest which is of little interest to the citizens living in other sections of the town. West Berkeley is one of the liveliest sections of the town and . . . is not only now the commercial seat of the city, but in the future it is bound to be the business center . . . It will be our aim to promote harmony and good feeling between all sections of the city."

This persistent rivalry between sections had contributed to the delay in incorporation. Berkeley's growth around a number of business centers, as well as its two major districts, "has given the town a delightfully disconnected irregularity," noted an early periodical. "The streets laid out by one nucleus have a way of running flatly into the fences of another . . . and the latter being equally fixed in their opinions, as to the desirability of not having streets at these particular points, the thoroughfares have been obliged either to stop blindly, or turn a corner and go round." The town council tried often to ameliorate differences. It succeeded in open-

ing wide avenues east and west, but was not so successful with north and south arteries.

That the disharmony in early Berkeley was not only geographic, but social, was illustrated in the controversy over the location of a post office. In 1877, when the Merrill drug store on Choate (Telegraph) Avenue began dispensing mail along with cathartics and horse liniment, Berkeley was not yet on the map. Incoming letters had to be addressed either to Oakland or in such descriptive terms as "Berkeley; Close to the College and near San Francisco." The location of a regular post office during the eighties led to a near feud between university and townspeople. Business interests wanted it located on Shattuck Avenue near Center Street, that being the commercial center; but a petition gotten out largely by professors put the post office on Choate Avenue nearer the university.

In 1887 President Grover Cleveland appointed Napoleon Byrne, one of the town's few Democrats, postmaster; he served through both of Cleveland's administrations. The post office location on Choate Avenue being frowned on by the business interests, Byrne moved the office to Center and Shattuck. The university people now raised complaining voices. Officials of the university refused to patronize the Berkeley post office, importing stamps from Oakland. Byrne evened the scale by inducing merchants in San Francisco to buy their stamps in Berkeley. Finally, however, he was obliged to write to Washington for help, whereupon the Government persuaded the university to recognize and purchase from the local office. This triumph of town over gown showed the uptrend of business influence.

The disharmony between Berkeley's districts was again demonstrated in the bitter controversy over the location of the town hall. The citizens around Shattuck Avenue and those around San Pablo staged a fight which swung back and forth for many years, until victory again went to the business element on Shattuck Avenue. First meetings of the board of trustees were held in a room on Shattuck near University, provided by F. K. Shat-

tuck. In 1879 the town hall for six months was “Library Hall” on the corner of Delaware and Sixth Streets in West Berkeley. Though this location was far from the center of town, it assuaged West Berkeley boosters, who felt that other sections of the town had been overly favored. The social center of the Workingmen’s Club—whose ticket had been victor in the first election—was next drafted to serve as city headquarters. A storeroom in the Shattuck Building near University Avenue was later the scene of meetings, and thereafter, in 1883, West Berkeley’s Sisterna Hall became the temporary site of the municipal gavel. So frequent were the moves that citizens often did not know where the town hall was.

When a permanent hall was finally planned, the political and sectional controversy was intense. One office-seeker upheld the Shattuck Avenue district; another stood squarely on a platform of town hall for West Berkeley or bust. Some people urged a compromise. Said the *Advocate* in a January, 1881, editorial: “If the erection of a town hall in the center between East and West Berkeley could have no other effect than to unite the two extremities and make them one in feeling and noble resolves for the good of all sections, the money would be well spent. Considered in all its rival and distinct parts no town was ever situated as Berkeley is today.”

Following this advice, a fairly central spot for the town hall, on the corner of University Avenue and Sacramento Street, was bought for \$1,700 in April, 1881; and here in 1884 the new municipal edifice was built at a cost of \$2,300. This became the home of city government until just before the turn of the century, when a new move was made to Grove Street near Center. When this building burned down in 1904, Berkeley’s headquarters was moved again, this time to Shattuck Avenue, corner of Allston Way. Finally, the peripatetic city administration found a permanent home in August, 1909, in the \$150,000 edifice at Grove and Allston Streets, which still serves.

A chief reason for Berkeley’s lack of unity during these years was poor transportation. “East and West Berkeley for years were almost like two

towns, and the strife, and even bitterness, between the two are a well known part of the town's history," noted the *Advocate* in the early nineties. The paper attributed this antagonism largely to the lack of easy public transportation facilities between the town's isolated centers, which worked "to prevent the social intercourse so powerful in uniting people into a homogenous whole . . . But the rapid growth of late years, bringing more closely together these sections, and the easy communication by means of street cars, have been instrumental in lulling the ill-feeling and reconciling the conflicting interests."

The transportation system of the early seventies had been very simple: it consisted of a single track, which went from the present Sather Gate down Telegraph Avenue and into Oakland's Broadway, and a rolling stock of two small cars, "in which seven people could sit on one side if they were not too stout." After four years a steam dummy car, and later a small locomotive, superseded the ever-tired horses on the Berkeley part of the road. In 1892 came the electric street cars, overcoming Berkeley's parochiality. While the tracks helped unify the town's divergent business factions, they also formed a social dividing line. In 1886 Francis Sheldon noted the ostracism of those who lived on the "other side" of the railroad tracks on Shattuck Avenue: "This railroad forms a social line, too, that as a rule is a strict barrier to familiar intercourse between the sides. It runs about a mile below the first steep hill-rise, and the people living above it are supposed to be chary of association with those who live below. Whether it is this feeling or the nature of the slope that determined the matter, I do not know, but the fact remains that the most beautiful and the richest part of Berkeley is above the track."

All the Latest Conveniences

DESPITE these sectional and social differences, there was a gradual up-swing in civic consciousness. In 1880 citizens of the university colony formed an "association for the promotion of neighborhood improvements," whose

objects were "to promote the improvement and ornamentation of the streets, stations, and public places of this locality, by planting and cultivating trees, establishing and maintaining walks, grading and draining roadways . . . encouraging system, order, and tidiness, and generally to do whatever may tend to the improvement of the town of Berkeley as a place of residence." The association helped win from a contemporary writer the compliment that "houses and grounds are in excellent taste . . . The air of refinement and good keeping about nearly every place in the village, whether it is the home of wealth or of moderate means, evinces a local pride that animates the entire population." The association vigorously undertook to make Berkeley a town of trees and shrubs. Fences were built, bushes were clipped, houses were painted, prizes were offered for the handsomest hedges. The association became an example for similar groups in other cities.

Another evidence of the development of civic consciousness—somewhat adulterated in this case by an instinct for self-preservation—was the formation of volunteer fire departments. The first one was organized in July, 1882, in West Berkeley, whose wooden factories and houses were ready fuel for conflagrations. In the previous month three buildings had burned to the ground while the young men of the town stood around helpless, lacking even the simplest fire-fighting equipment.

An entertainment was given, proceeds going to the purchase of a second-hand engine and new hose-cart. The former, which had been called "Hancock," was renamed "Beacon No. 1," and the hose-cart became "Tiger No. 1." "Hancock" had had an interesting history, serving first in Boston, from where it was shipped to San Francisco, and from there after seven years' service to San Jose, then to Alameda, and finally to Berkeley. Its original price was \$1,500, but age and use brought it to Berkeley for only \$150. This noble veteran of fire wars was installed in an engine house, built at the cost of \$250, on the corner of Sixth Street and University Avenue.

East Berkeley organized its own volunteer company soon after, following fires which in July, 1882, destroyed the Olive Branch Hotel on Choate (Telegraph) Avenue near Bancroft Way and in November burned down Union Hall and several other buildings on Shattuck Avenue. The Beacon Fire Company responded to the latter blaze, but the mile-and-a-half upgrade was a long haul, and it arrived too late for anything but applause. The East Berkeley company took the name Columbia. It served faithfully for many years, but was disbanded in 1894 because its unpaid firemen had their own businesses to attend to and could not always be depended upon to come when needed. Students later formed the University Fire Company to protect the business sections near them.

Vociferous promoters of civic consciousness were the newspapers. Although they sometimes stooped to inciting sectional rivalry, they generally served as loyal champions of the town. They did not spare the caustic in discussing muddy streets, bond issues, or one another, but they were quick to defend the community against attacks from Oakland and San Francisco editors.

First of Berkeley's papers was the *Gazette*, a weekly which published a few issues in West Berkeley in 1876, then quietly disappeared. The following year the sturdiest of Berkeley's early papers, the *Advocate*, was started, also in West Berkeley, where it stayed four years, then moving to a new location in the growing business district on Shattuck Avenue. This paper took its title seriously; it advocated, promoted, boosted, and eulogized the town with enthusiasm, doing what it could to unify the community's far-flung sections.

With the years many competitors of the *Advocate* rose and fell. In 1892, now a daily, it published the obituary notice of its latest rival, the *Berkeley Daily Herald*, and listed all the local papers which had "passed away into that bourne from which no newspaper returneth: *The Berkeley Gazette*; *The Berkeley Register*; *The Berkeley Standard*; *The Berkeley Beacon*; *The Berkeley Reveille*; *The Berkeley Herald* (weekly); *The*



Berkeley Journalism About 1900



Shattuck and University, 1888



Henry Wilson, Berkeley Postman, 1900

...AT THE CORNER OF SHATTUCK & UNIVERSITY AVENUES
...Berkeley and Alameda
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...ND, CAL.

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& Contractor
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...T SHORT NOTICE
...addressed to P. O.
...romptly attended to:

Light and Power Adver-
tisement, "Advocate," 1892

The California Hotel,

N. W. COR. SHATTUCK & UNIVERSITY AVENUES

STRICTLY FIRST-CLASS

The best Hotel in Berkeley. Every convenience for comfort of guests
Room with board \$5 per week and upwards.

J. DORAN, - - -

PROPRIETOR

BERKELEY ELECTRIC LIGHT, POWER AND HEAT COMPANY.

A. A. OSBORN - - - - - SECRETARY

OFFICE 1928 SHATTUCK AVE.

ARC LIGHTING, INCANDESCENT LIGHTING, AND
POWER FOR MACHINERY,

—AT THE FOLLOWING RATES:—

Eight o'clock, 16-candle power, incandescent, \$1.00 per month.
Nine o'clock, 16-candle power, incandescent, \$1.25 per month.
Ten o'clock, 16-candle power, incandescent, \$1.50 per month.
Twelve o'clock, 16-candle power, incandescent, \$2 per month.
2,000 candle power Arc Light, to burn until 10 o'clock, \$10 per month.
Sewing Machine and Dental motors, \$3 per month. Larger motors, special price furnished
at the office of Company. A charge of \$3 per light, including lamp socket, cut out cord, wire
and labor, will be made for putting in Incandescent Lamps.

H. W. TAYLOR

OUR
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Berkeley Daily Herald.' The editor concluded that "there was not sufficient patronage in Berkeley to support two good papers."

The *Advocate* easily filled Berkeley's journalistic void, devoting much space to sarcastic comments about such civic sore spots as the streets. "We would suggest that teamsters with heavily loaded wagons provide themselves with buoys before venturing on Shattuck Avenue," the editor wrote in December, 1892. "They might be useful in marking the spot where their outfit disappeared." Again, in a more facetious vein: "Our muddy thorough-fares presented quite a study in hosiery the other day, just after that terrific down pour which nearly swamped the business section. The girls who were compelled to navigate the submerged crossing had to choose between dragged skirts and displaying their hosiery—and they invariably saved their skirts. While it lasted, our reporter, instead of going out and locating the storm center, as directed, just stood like one in a trance, with his nose pressed against the window-pane, and his eyes glued on the unholy show outside. Expressman Boyd was also seen to stop and gaze at the spectacle a moment, and then turn away, his bronzed features bathed in blushes."

Moved by such outspoken comments as these, the town council gradually took action on civic improvements. "Public improvements are not all that they should be . . . But the new birth is coming," reported the *San Francisco Call* at about this time. "The Trustees have decided that the future sidewalk is cement, and in none of the more thickly settled districts will wood be encouraged. From time to time, as seems practicable, street grading and paving will be promoted. The project is now on foot, indeed, to grade and macadamize the two main thoroughfares through the city—San Pablo on the west and Shattuck Avenue on the east. The cost of the work on each avenue will be not less than \$100,000 . . ."

The growing town also benefited from new industrial inventions of the late nineteenth century. In 1887 four high towers and six masts were erected, each supporting a high-powered arc or carbon light. One such

tower stood at what is now the corner of Durant and Fulton. It was a matter of opinion whether the arc lights lit up the town well. Some thought they served only to show how dark it was. The Jenney dynamos which gave life to these arc lights were too weak to push the electricity far enough. In 1892 they were superseded by "two Edison dynamos, each capable of supplying 150 incandescent lights," according to an advertisement in the *Advocate*, which continued: "Another fine steam engine has been ordered and will shortly be here, capable of driving all the dynamos necessary to the increased use of electricity for light, heat, and power." The rates for lighting were by the hour. To burn a sixteen-candlepower lamp evenings until eight o'clock cost one dollar a month; for two dollars one could burn the lamp until midnight.

The Bell Telephone Company began service in Berkeley in the nineties, but encountered competition from the Home Telephone Company. The double system caused much confusion in Berkeley's business affairs, since each downtown office had to have two phones, with different sets of numbers. After several years of this situation Bell bought out the rival company. The city, however, benefited from the Home Telephone franchise, using the \$40,000 paid by the company to acquire San Pablo Park in 1909.

With electric lights, telephones, electric trains, and paved streets, Berkeley was showing all the progressiveness of a modern city as the new century approached. However, in some respects it continued to disappoint its more forward-looking citizens, as the following letter to the editor of the *Advocate* reveals: "Among the many things recommended in your paper for the good and convenience of our people, there is one that you have never touched upon, but which needs to be brought to the attention of house owners. No house should be built without having one or more hitching posts in the street in front. People will set out shade trees along the street, and then expect the butcher, the baker, the grocer and all others to let their horses stand in the street without hitching; and while many

horses will stand, they do not and will not refrain from biting the bark from the trees and otherwise spoiling or killing them. Often some one is very sick; the physician is sent for in a great hurry. It may be that a delay of a few minutes means life or death; yet when the doctor, in response to the hasty call, rides with all speed, and ready to do his best, he finds fine trees, an excellent sidewalk, but nothing to hitch his horse to."

In the nineties the maturing town already had parking problems.

Boom in Berkeley

CHEAP AND QUICK transportation—ten-cent fare and a three-dollar monthly commutation ticket to San Francisco—was an important factor in attracting investors and homeseekers to Berkeley, during the first years of the new century.

In 1903 the Key Route began operating hourly in connection with the ferries; so popular was the line that soon even half-hourly trains were not enough, and a twenty-minute schedule was introduced after one month. Commuters kept the trains and ferries so busy that San Francisco's firms, wishing to keep population in their own city, ordered their employees not to reside in the East Bay. But the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce reported that "the records indicate that there will be no diminution in the total number of passengers . . . this year." Evidently most of the commuters were employers.

Its increase in popularity as a residential city brought Berkeley an upsurge of prosperity. Real estate boomed. The demand for home-building grew rapidly. New Berkeley firms had to erect barracks to give employees temporary shelter. Hotels and apartment houses were at a premium. "Back against the hills, the Claremont people are building what promises to be the largest and finest tourist hostelry in Northern California," reported a visitor. This was the Claremont Hotel.

But the biggest impetus to Berkeley's prosperity proved to be San Francisco's great earthquake and fire in 1906. "It is not Christian to seek

advantage in another's misfortune," wrote Warren Cheney in an article, "Commercial Berkeley," in *Sunset Magazine* for December, 1906, "but there is nothing to be ashamed of in profiting by such misfortune if it comes unsought. There is no doubt but the greatest impulse that has come in Berkeley's history toward its commercial development has had its beginning in the destruction of the business section of San Francisco by earthquake and fire on April 18th."

Berkeley was suddenly besieged by thousands of refugees. Every train brought loads of homeless and frequently half-dressed and hungry victims of the earthquake. "I remember," says Charles Huggins, a retired city official, who witnessed the exodus from San Francisco to Berkeley, "that the refugees didn't seem to be in their right minds—they seemed stunned, particularly in what they saved. One carried nothing else that I could see but a length of stovepipe. Practically everybody seemed to be carrying a bird. They felt the shock and took only, I suppose, what first came to their minds."

The campus and buildings of the university—the gym, the baseball fields, Hearst Hall—were used to house the refugees. Bakeries turned out thousands of loaves of bread, not only for Berkeley but for shipment to the stricken city. Clothes, bandages, medicines were gathered in the university town. Excerpts from the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* during the days following the disaster give a vivid picture of the university city's relief work:

"This afternoon [April 19] Berkeley is rapidly filling with refugees from the razed city. Hundreds of Chinese and Japanese arrived shortly after noon and line Addison Street for a block. Every available space is being utilized for the care of these and hundreds of others, irrespective of color. The baseball field on the Campus is to be utilized by the refugees. Hundreds of tents are being erected to shelter them tonight."

The *Gazette* reported that on Wednesday evening, April 18, the first detachment of U. C. cadets had gone on duty.

"The total number of refugees fed up to the noon hour today [April 21] at the various public places is between 7,200 and 8,000."

"As far as possible Chinese refugees have been confined to the Dwight Way district . . . fully three hundred and fifty Chinese men, women and children in the Chinese houses of that locality . . . Ge Thang's establishment on Dwight Way and Shattuck Avenue, the notorious gambling den, that has been several times raided by the police, has been converted into a nursery. More than forty babies, from two weeks old to six years are safely housed and cared for in its walls . . ."

"Saturday afternoon [April 21] the University of California cadets returned to this city, the army forces having been increased by several regiments of regulars from outlying points. Then, too, the cadets were without blankets and it was thought probable that they might be needed in Berkeley."

"In an interview with Victor H. Henderson, secretary of the University of California regents, yesterday [April 23], he made the following statement:

" 'A conservative estimate of the refugees that have been cared for within our city, based approximately upon the numbers fed, reaches beyond the 15,000 mark. This includes the 2,000 Chinese and Japanese refugees but does not take in the numerous people who went directly to the home of friends and did not come within our ken.' "

And affording a note of humor after the worst strain was over was the following advertisement on May 19: "We have had a good many bricks mixed up with our laundry, but are running smooth again. Prices as usual. Troy Laundry, Phone Berkeley 73."

When the panic was over, Berkeley had registered a permanent gain both in population and in business. "It will give everyone who was familiar with commercial San Francisco a queer and creepy feeling down his spine to drive along the streets of commercial Berkeley and contemplate the business signs," said Cheney's *Sunset* article. "He will find Tillman

& Bendel, the California Furniture Company, Tatum & Bowel, the California Power Works, the Yosemite Engraving Company, the Van Emon Elevator Works, the Sperry Flour Company, and a host of others which before the fire were milestones in the San Francisco commercial roads.'

Berkeley's population almost doubled during the year after the San Francisco fire. In consequence the Chamber of Commerce, which had been organized in 1905, found so much reason to extol the city that it put forward strong claims in 1907 for transfer of the State Capital to Berkeley. The university city had something to offer the State government in the form of a commanding site overlooking the Golden Gate. Also, "the present state capitol building at Sacramento is in a deplorable condition of dilapidation and ruin," declared a Chamber of Commerce resolution. The legislature approved the move and tons of circulars were distributed throughout the state, but in 1908 the change was defeated by the voters, who had disapproved many earlier attempts at abandoning the Sacramento site.

This rebuff did not retard Berkeley. In fact, some cynics doubted that the Chamber of Commerce had seriously expected to succeed. The expansive talk about becoming State Capital was aimed, in the opinion of some, at attracting attention to the blossoming city. A real estate tract was opening at that time, for which advertising was needed. What better advertisement than the sowing of the idea, however remote, that Berkeley should become State Capital? By the close of the first decade of the new century the city had reached the 40,000 population class, becoming the fifth city in California and sixty-third in the United States.



Dedication of the Greek Theatre, 19



Decorative Art Lecture, Professor Ardley, 1899



The Campus; Life Sciences Building at Left



Sather Gate

1903-1941

V: Center of Learning

THE GREEK THEATRE gave Berkeley a cultural transfusion. Before its opening the townspeople had depended on homespun productions in Shattuck Hall or on intimate recitals in crowded parlors for their serious entertainment. Now they had a theater such as no other American city of the time possessed—one whose sylvan setting and classic stage both attracted and challenged top-ranking stars of the drama and opera.

At the dedicatory exercises, September 24, 1903, an overflow audience witnessed a student production of scenes from Aristophanes' drama, *The Birds*. Although few of the spectators understood one word of Greek or had any knowledge of the plot, they "sat spellbound unto the end" of the play. The performance was overshadowed by the dedication ceremony, featuring the four men chiefly responsible for the Greek Theatre—Benjamin Weed, discoverer of the site; President Benjamin Ide Wheeler, its conceiver; William Randolph Hearst, donor; and John Galen Howard, architect. The spectators left feeling what one called "the awe of ownership. The Greek Theatre was finished! It was theirs!"

This "awe of ownership" for so beautiful a structure was resolved into loyal patronage of classical dramas and fine musical events during the next two decades. A university committee, of which Professor William Dallam Armes was chairman, took charge of the theater and arranged a busy succession of activities, both student and professional. Sunday afternoon "Half-Hours of Music," said to have contributed more than anything else

to the fame of Berkeley as a center of culture, were presented free during the summer months; symphony concerts were given under the direction of Professor John Frederick Wolle; the Berkeley Oratorio Society presented oratorios, conducted by Paul Steindorff; students used the theater regularly for everything from Greek dramas to bonfire rallies; and it was the setting for many special events.

As a home for such programs the Greek Theatre became the center of local cultural activities; but it acquired a wider fame from the appearances of visiting stage celebrities. Its first professional show was *Twelfth Night*, presented two days after the dedication by an English Shakespearian company, the Ben Greet Players, and on May 17, 1906, its international reputation was established when Sarah Bernhardt played there in Racine's tragedy, *Phèdre*.

Bernhardt's Berkeley performance was unscheduled. The earthquake and fire a month before had destroyed all the playhouses in San Francisco and forced the Bernhardt company to play in Oakland, where she appeared twice in Ye Liberty Playhouse, and in Berkeley. The classic Greek Theatre was an exciting discovery for her, in joyous conflict with her tears over the desolation of San Francisco. "It has always been a dream of mine to play *Phèdre* sometime in the open air," she said, "but I never dreamed of doing it in Greece."

Berkeley was still overrun with refugees, many of whom joined the audience of five thousand that climbed to the Greek Theatre on that sunny spring afternoon to see the "Divine Sarah." "Her *Phèdre*," said a newspaper commentator, "though a tragic figure in a tragedy-haunted community, supplied the first big breathing spell that the fire-sufferers had enjoyed." The recent disaster was forgotten as Bernhardt's voice "cooed and soothed and sobbed through the lines" and the majority would have agreed with Mabel Craft Deering that this was "one of the great events in the world's dramatic history." "Her tawny eyes flashed from beneath the fringe of hair," Mrs. Deering wrote, "and as she left the amphitheatre in

an open carriage without a veil, she was cheered enthusiastically by thousands of people who had lingered on the heights among the trees, or along the campus to wave and shout her an enthusiastic farewell."

The spectators and the critics were almost unanimous in praising Bernhardt's performance, although one reporter disparagingly quoted a low-brow remark that the show "was Greek to most of 'em and French to the rest"—a weak and inappropriate jest to those who had sat "spellbound unto the end" of the student production of *The Birds* in Greek, three years before. However, there were many who felt that despite the magnificence of Bernhardt's acting, the production had done an injustice to the beautiful new theater. "I agree with the criticism of those absurd [stage] settings," Professor Armes was quoted as saying in the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* on May 19, "but I must insist that Bernhardt's stage manager be held responsible. He was the doctor and he did the work of ordering the arrangement that you saw on the stage: I know that the palms looked foolish, and the Oregon pine chairs and symphony concert dais were unforgivable, but please charge it all to the Parisian who is paid a salary by Bernhardt to see to all that."

Bernhardt's performance had been announced as her "last appearance" in northern California, for which reason "one hopes with some certainty that she will come again," one critic wrote. She did come again, repeating *Phèdre* on May 8, 1911, and receiving from the same Professor Armes, as chairman of the theater's managing committee, a laurel wreath for having "set the standard of dramatic perfection in California's well-known open air theater and [having] inspired its directors to have nothing but the best." By then the theater had become a fairly regular stopping place for notable stage stars, including Constance Crawley in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Maude Adams in *As You Like It* and *L'Aiglon*, Margaret Anglin in *Antigone* and *Electra*, and the Ben Greet Players in more Shakespearean productions. Soon to follow were Nance O'Neill in *Ingomar*, Sothorn and Marlowe in *Macbeth*, and Margaret Anglin in other Greek dramas.

These events, and the less publicized concerts and student dramas, were a great stimulus to Berkeley's cultural life. Prior to the opening of the theater the city's only musical organizations had been two small music clubs: the Berkeley Piano Club, organized by five ladies in 1893 to encourage practice, and the Etude Club. In 1910 was formed the Berkeley Musical Association, whose concert program soon rivaled the Greek Theatre's schedule of activities. Under the energetic direction of William E. Chamberlain the association brought to Berkeley during the next quarter-century many world-famous concert stars, including Josef Hofman, Harold Bauer, Efrem Zimbalist, Rudolf Ganz, Mischa Elman, Josef Lhévinne, Julia Culp, Maude Powell, Edward Johnson, Alfred Cortot, Georges Enesco, Tito Schipa, and José Iturbi. Within a few years the association had a membership of two thousand; its growth inspired a proud Chamber of Commerce boast that the university city had become "a genuine musical center."

A change in management of the Greek Theatre in 1918, following the death of Professor Armes, brought a widening of its activities. Samuel J. Hume, who had starred in student and professional productions while an undergraduate (1904-08), was made director. Hume was given charge not only of theater events, but also of all concerts, plays, lectures, and art exhibitions on the university campus. He organized the Greek Theatre Players, composed of professionals, students, graduates, and townspeople. With this organization he presented in the Greek Theatre each spring and autumn a series of major productions, principally the important and rarely seen plays of Shakespeare. In the winter season, making a virtue of necessity, he produced in Wheeler Hall an extensive repertory of Shaw, Ibsen, O'Neill, and other well-known moderns. The tempo of events in the Greek Theatre was speeded up, with such feature productions as Robert Mantell in *King Lear*; the French Army Band and Sousa's Band; Mme. Ernestine Schumann-Heink in the oratorio *Elijah*; Ruth St. Denis with her dancers in the ballet from Massenet's opera, *Bacchus*, and with Ted



Four-million-pound Testing Machine, University's Engineering Materials Testing Laboratory



"City of Many Churches"

Shawn in the Maxwell Armfield production, *Miriam, Sister of Moses*; the grand operas *Aïda*, *Samson and Delilah*, and *Marriage of Figaro*.

Further expansion of Berkeley's cultural activities at this time, for which the stimulus of the Greek Theatre can be credited, brought to life several other musical and dramatic organizations. Among the musical groups were the Berkeley Violin Club; the Amphion Club, sponsored by music teachers; and, somewhat later, the Berkeley Music Center. In 1920 the short-lived Berkeley Theater of Allied Arts, founded by Maxwell Armfield, began recruiting prominent university and townspeople as members. In 1922 the Berkeley Playhouse began a ten-year career as one of the nation's leading experimental theaters, attaining distinction especially for its revival of the old P. T. Barnum morality play, *The Drunkard*. In 1924 a playwriting and production group was formed, called The Playshop; renamed the Berkeley Playmakers in 1927, it received country-wide recognition in the little theater movement for its original work. Many members of these organizations rose to prominence in the professional theater, screen, and radio.

Following Hume's departure in 1923, use of the Greek Theatre diminished greatly. Although occasional operas and professional productions were given, it became increasingly difficult to attract outstanding artists to the outdoor stage in the new age of radio and talking pictures. The theater was used chiefly for student activities and university affairs, such as the Horace Festival, presented in 1935 by the English Club in collaboration with other Bay region colleges, commemorating the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of the Roman poet. The 1941 program of the Berkeley Festival Association, featuring such stars as John Charles Thomas and Conductor Bruno Walter, brought back "big-time" productions to its classic stage; but regardless of its future course, its importance in Berkeley's cultural history had been firmly established during its first two decades.

Satellites of the University

THE PHOEBE APPERSON HEARST award of a \$10,000 prize to Henri Jean Emile Bénard in 1898 for a new plan for the campus caused international publicity about Berkeley as a "city of learning." An article in *Harper's Magazine* on "A Western City of Learning" described the plans for erecting buildings "worthy of . . . the most beautiful site on earth for the purposes of a university"; San Francisco and eastern newspapers took up the story; the London *Spectator*, in an article entitled "A City of Learning," spoke with some amazement of the plans for establishing so near to the "intensely modern and feverish city" of San Francisco a seat of learning "which rivals in its conception the Benedictine monasteries of the Middle Ages. What deeper contrast could be imagined?"

While Bénard's grandiose conception of the university had to be greatly modified, Berkeley became increasingly a "city of learning" during the following decades, as other scholastic foundations were established there. During the first decade of the new century three of the largest divinity schools in the West—the Pacific School of Religion, the Berkeley Baptist School for the Ministry, and the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry—and a Catholic preparatory school, St. Joseph's Academy, later St. Mary's College High School, were established in Berkeley. To these were added in later years the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, the Cora Williams Institute, and the Berkeley Teachers College. The California Institution for the Deaf and the Blind was divided into two advanced institutions. Improvement of the public school system brought Berkeley's investment in its city schools—buildings, equipment and land—to an estimated twenty million dollars in 1940.

The forerunner of the Pacific School of Religion was organized in San Francisco two years before the College of California became a State university. In 1858 the Reverend C. W. Pond, as chairman of the Education Committee of the American Association of Congregational Churches,

had stated that the time was at hand when California should train its own men for the ministry. However, it was not until 1869 that the California Theological Seminary, later called the Pacific Theological Seminary, was opened in rented rooms over a book store in San Francisco. Two years later the school was moved to property previously occupied by the Female College of the Pacific—on Seminary Hill in Oakland—purchased with \$80,000 in gold.

Accomplishment of plans formed in 1873 by the Congregationalists of California to “procure land in the vicinity of the State University, and to cause to be erected thereon a Church of Christ and a College Home” was delayed nearly three decades. In 1901 the school was moved to a building on Atherton Street in Berkeley, previously occupied by the Harmon Seminary and afterward by the Berkeley Gymnasium. Four years later the school was moved again, this time to its present campus at Scenic and Le Conte Avenues on a hilltop overlooking San Francisco Bay and the Marin hills. It became interdenominational in 1912: the graduating class that year included two Methodists, one Episcopalian, and three Congregationalists, one of whom had been a Baptist until a few months before. On its fiftieth anniversary in 1916 the name of the seminary changed to Pacific School of Religion.

John Henry Barrows, the first of a series of speakers heard under the auspices of the school’s Earl Lectureship Foundation, told Berkeleyans in 1902 that the future great center of the world probably would be either in San Francisco or Shanghai. Other foundation lecturers have been Viscount James Bryce, Walter Rauschenbusch, S. Parkes Cadman, James Henry Breasted, Booker T. Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Henry Van Dyke.

Holbrook Memorial Library, a Gothic structure of gray cut stone donated to the school by Charles Holbrook of San Francisco, contains 30,000 volumes, as well as theological publications, manuscripts, and relics, a group of Babylonian cuneiform tablets, a “Breeches” Bible printed in

Geneva in 1650, a group of fourth-century Biblical inscriptions on papyrus, and a rubbing of the inscription on the Nestorian Monument in China. A bound collection of pioneer letters, describing early educational and church work in California, is preserved there. An archaeological exhibit contains relics dating from 3500 B.C.

Archaeological expeditions in Palestine in recent years under the leadership of Dr. Chester C. McCown and William F. Bade resulted in establishment of the Palestine Institute at the Pacific School of Religion, where lamps from Palestine—unused for three thousand years—were lit in October, 1939, at a reception honoring the new president of the school, Dr. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr.

Difficulty in finding ministers for Unitarian Churches on the Pacific Coast caused the Pacific Unitarian Conference in 1889 to sponsor a movement for a theological school in the West. Among the chief supporters of the movement, which resulted in the founding of the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, were Dr. Horace Davis, president of the University of California from 1887 to 1890, and his wife. The school was opened in Oakland in 1904 and was moved two years later to Berkeley. Its library includes an unrivaled collection of Unitariana, consisting of more than twenty-three thousand books and seven thousand pamphlets.

In 1940 the Unitarian school sold its property at Allston Way and Dana Streets to the university and purchased new land on LeConte Avenue. It began holding its classes in rooms of the Pacific School of Religion until new buildings could be erected.

Western divinity schools were also organized by Baptists and Episcopalians in the decade before 1900. The Berkeley Baptist School for the Ministry was founded in 1891 in Oakland and was moved in 1905 to its present location in a slate-roofed red brick building at Hillegass Avenue and Dwight Way. Devoted to the training of men and women for the ministry and missionary service, the school has alumni in nine foreign countries and twenty-two States.

The Church Divinity School of the Pacific, founded by Bishop William Ford Nichols of the Episcopal Diocese of California, was opened in San Mateo in 1893, transferred to San Francisco in 1911, and moved to Berkeley in 1930. Buildings on its campus, a block north of the university on Ridge Road, include All Saints Chapel, erected in 1937-1938 as a memorial to the Reverend George F. Weld, and a library building, completed in 1940 and named in honor of the Reverend James Otis Lincoln, which houses the Powell Memorial Biblical and Semitic Library and other special collections, as well as fifteen thousand volumes of standard works.

Three preparatory schools have occupied a picturesque building just over the Berkeley city line in present Albany, once called the Peralta Hotel, although it was never used as a hostelry. It was first used in the nineties by Mrs. Sprague's School for Girls, later by Professor Dunn's School for boys, and finally, in 1903, by St. Joseph's Academy, then a grammar school for resident students, which had been established in Oakland in 1878. (A new brick building, now the school's main structure, was erected nearby in 1927, and the academy became St. Mary's High School, affiliated with St. Mary's College of Moraga.)

The Peralta Hotel had been completed in 1891 by Maurice Strelinger, a Polish-Jewish actor known on the stage and in private life as Maurice B. Curtis. "A number of enthusiasts banded together, headed by M. B. Curtis," the *San Francisco Call* reported on December 12, 1891, "and put up what was intended as a very imposing and capacious caravansary on the beautiful elevation known as Peralta Park. It was a boom move, but turned out a boomlet. The intention was to establish there a popular summer resort, and on the strength of the prospect to sell off surrounding premises cut up into small lots at fancy prices. Several brass bands and free lunches celebrated the events. But somehow the people didn't enthuse, and the enterprise was not a howling success. The hotel was nevertheless constructed at a cost of \$125,000, and it is truly a fine, splendid edifice."

Curtis, who played the title role in a popular stage production, *Sam'l O'*

Posen, in the late eighties, became despondent when experienced hotel men of New York expressed the opinion that it would take a fortune to run the new Peralta Hotel. Shortly before the hotel was to be opened in 1891 he went with several friends to see a play in San Francisco. He had been drinking heavily. When a policeman, George Grant, attempted to arrest him, he resisted. In the scuffle that ensued the officer was shot. Curtis was arrested for murder. Three times he was tried and each time the jury disagreed. He was finally released on bail and went East. Because of the enormous expense of the legal talent he had engaged, he lost his interest in the Peralta Hotel Company and died destitute in the Los Angeles County Hospital in 1925. The home built by Curtis at Sacramento and Hopkins Streets later became a play school. Posen Avenue in that neighborhood was named for the character he portrayed in the play, *Sam'l O' Posen*, and Albina Street was named for his wife. Acton Street was once called Fleurence, his wife's stage name.

When the California Institution for the Deaf and the Blind became two schools in 1921, new buildings were erected for the School for the Blind, and the original buildings were assigned to the School for the Deaf. The only residential school of its kind in the State, the California School for the Deaf is part of the State public-school system. Its specially trained staff of teachers, instructors, and officers and its large central library of charts, flash cards, picture descriptions, and all other materials equip it to receive all types of deaf children. All graduates from the school who can successfully pass entrance examinations are admitted to the government-supported National College for the Deaf in Washington, D.C., commonly known as Gallaudet College, the only college for the deaf in the world. The principal of the school, Elwood A. Stevenson, is also Chief of the Bureau for the Deaf, in charge of all State work in the field of special education of children and adults with defective hearing.

All but one of the six major buildings now occupied by the California School for the Blind were constructed under a plan inaugurated in 1923,

shortly after the school assumed separate identity. In addition to classrooms for regular academic work, the school has insulated music practice rooms, a typing and dictaphone room, library and printing rooms, a kindergarten, and an auditorium containing a modern pipe organ. The course of instruction extends from kindergarten through the twelfth grade, offering, in addition to the academic work, courses in vocal and instrumental music, home economics, general handwork (basketry, weaving, clay, and wood work), and physical education and recreation. The school's superintendent, Dr. Richard S. French, reported in 1941 that "our scholarship ranks highest in the world . . . Our school library is rated among the finest, with service extended to blind students throughout the State." Dr. French, superintendent of the school since 1922, is the author of a book, *From Homer to Helen Keller*, used at Harvard, Columbia, and other eastern universities as a standard reference work.

A comparative newcomer among Berkeley's schools is the Williams College of Liberal Arts. Formerly called the Cora Williams Institute, it was founded in 1918 by Cora Williams, author of *Creative Involution* and *Adding a New Dimension to Education*. Training included the first two years of college work until 1935, when a four-year college course was instituted.

More than seventeen hundred teachers have been trained by the Dodd School, founded in 1901 and incorporated in 1927 as Western Normal. It is the only private school in California whose charter enables it specifically to prepare students for elementary school teaching.

In the field of commercial education distinguishing features of Berkeley's business schools are high scholastic requirements and new types of equipment for scientific business training. The two largest are the Armstrong College of Business Administration, established in 1918 with six students, which has a library of specialized business type containing nine thousand volumes, and the California College of Business, founded in 1934, a nonprofit organization administered by a board of trustees.

Along with the university these schools attracted a large transient student population to Berkeley. The city also acquired a plentiful share of private schools of a more local character and built up a first-class public school system, justifying its designation as a city of learning.

Building the Great University

IN THE FIRST four decades of the twentieth century the University of California advanced far beyond the most visionary expectations of its founders. Its student enrollment grew several times over; the number and value of its endowments and gifts steadily increased; new buildings were erected, new educational departments added, and libraries and special facilities enlarged and expanded; brilliant contributions were made to science. Thus the university progressed to leadership among American institutions of learning.

A large share of the credit for this growth rests with the New England scholar who was inaugurated president in 1899—Benjamin Ide Wheeler. In his first report to the governor in 1900, Wheeler listed the fifteen items he considered to be the “most pressing needs of the University”: (1) five hundred thousand dollars in library funds; (2) a new library building; (3) a social hall for students, alumni, and teachers; (4) an art building; (5) a School of Forestry; (6) a Department of Irrigation; (7) a School of Naval Architecture and Engineering; (8) a Department of Music; (9) a School of Archaeology; (10) a School of Architecture; (11) a laboratory for a Department of Dairy Husbandry; (12) a Department of Physical Chemistry; (13) an instructor in public speaking; (14) instructors in Spanish, Russian, and general linguistics; (15) lectureships and professorships for the School of Commerce.

Wheeler, seventh administrative head of the university in its first thirty years, had been warned that his tenure would be short. He stayed for twenty years. When he retired as president emeritus in 1919 all fifteen of his “most pressing needs” had been met, by either State funds or private

donations, and so much more had been accomplished in physical and academic development that the university was only remotely the same institution he had entered. "He came to the University a distinguished scholar; he proved himself a great administrator," wrote Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, present provost and vice-president. "He could understand the scholarly needs of the University, but also the hopes and aspirations of the students. He could speak before the people of the State and make the University understood."

When Wheeler's administration began, construction of the first buildings under John Galen Howard's modification of the Bénard Plan was just getting under way. Public and private funds combined to carry out a program which replaced many of the old wooden buildings and gave the university eleven permanent structures by the time of Wheeler's retirement. Ground was broken for the President's House in 1900, although construction was not completed until 1911, and California Hall, dedicated in 1905, was the first Bénard-Plan structure to be occupied. In 1907 the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, donated by Phoebe Apperson Hearst as a memorial to her husband, Senator George Hearst, was completed. Succeeding private bequests provided all or part of the funds for many more buildings: from Jane K. Sather came funds for construction of Sather Gate (1909) and Sather Tower, popularly called the Campanile (1914); from Elizabeth Josselyn Boalt, for Boalt Hall in 1911; from Charles Franklin Doe, for the Doe Memorial Library in 1917. Wheeler Hall, erected in 1916 and named in honor of the president, and Hilgard Hall, constructed and named the next year for Professor Eugene W. Hilgard, completed the major construction program of the Wheeler administration. Thereafter building activity for major academic structures lagged for a decade, until pressure of the constantly growing student body resulted in erection of the enormous Life Sciences Building and Giannini Hall (the latter the gift of Amadeo Peter Giannini), both of which were opened in 1930.

While this building program is physical evidence of the expansion of the university during the past forty years, more spectacular evidence has been the increase in structures devoted to student activities. Stephens Union, headquarters for student life on the campus outside of classroom hours, was built in 1921 by popular subscription as a memorial to Henry Morse Stephens, popular and distinguished historian. In it are the offices of the Associated Students and of the California Alumni Association, largest alumni group in the world, whose magazine, the *California Monthly*, has been cited nine times in national contests as a distinguished alumni publication. The association sponsors the "University Explorer," named the foremost educational radio program in the United States; provides funds for freshman scholarships; and in 1941 added to its activities campaigns to raise funds for women's dormitories on the several university campuses.

Neighboring Eshleman Hall houses the offices of other campus publications, including the *Daily Californian*, an outgrowth of the early-day student newspaper, the *Berkeleyan*; the annual *Blue and Gold*; *The California Folio* (successor to *The Grizzly*, originally *The Occident*), campus literary publication; the *Pelican*, a humorous monthly magazine; and the *California Engineer*, published by the students of the College of Engineering. Built in 1930 at a cost of \$240,000, Eshleman Hall is dedicated to John Morton Eshleman, an alumnus who served the State as a member of the Legislature, chairman of the railroad commission, and lieutenant governor.

The million-dollar California Memorial Stadium, with a seating capacity of 82,000, was completed in time for the "Big Game" with Stanford in 1923. The stadium, dedicated to Californians who died in the World War, was built by popular subscription.

The Hearst Gymnasium for Women was erected in 1927, as a gift from publisher William Randolph Hearst in honor of his mother, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, donor of the original women's gymnasium, destroyed

by fire in 1922. The Gymnasium for Men (completed in 1933) replaced the venerable Harmon Gymnasium. The George C. Edwards Field adjoining the men's gymnasium, named in honor of a member of the first graduating class, was dedicated in 1932. It comprises a track, turfed fields, and stadium, and is used primarily for baseball and track events.

International House, a gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was opened in August, 1930, as a residential and social center for foreign and American students without discrimination against race, color, sex, and religion. Its library was provided through a donation of \$10,000 from the Carnegie Foundation.

Few of the early student traditions survived the turn of the century. The Big "C" on Charter Hill, target of paint-splashing brigades from California's football rivals, marks a time when class spirit began to give way to university spirit. Until 1904 it was a tradition of the freshman class to rush up the hill behind the campus on the evening before Charter Day and burn its numerals into the greensward; tradition also required that the sophomore class try to prevent this organized impertinence. Strong opposition to this struggle—which resulted in many injuries and served to perpetuate bitterness between the two classes—grew steadily among upper classmen, the faculty, and the university administration. In 1904 there was no "rush," and it was decided to divert the energies of the lower classmen into construction of a huge concrete "C".

In the early morning hours of Charter Day, March 18, 1905, a long line of freshmen and sophomores began the work of passing bags of sand and cement up the hillside, while others prepared the ground for construction of the monumental letter. That afternoon, as Professor Henry Van Dyke of Princeton University began to address the thousands gathered in the Greek Theatre to commemorate the university's thirty-seventh anniversary, a spine-tingling "Oski-wow-wow" floated down the hill and filled the theater with echoes. The last wheel-barrow of cement had been dumped; the students had completed their work; the Big "C" was finished.

Each year during football season, the Big "C" is guarded against marauding students from other colleges. Four gallons of yellow enamel are required to restore it to its proper color after a painting raid. In 1938 a thorough cleaning revealed that the "C" had been painted at least seventy-nine times—twenty times with Stanford red.

When Benjamin Ide Wheeler first came to Berkeley he said: "The only thing that is of interest to me in a university is men and women." Although he was extraordinarily successful in attracting political and financial support to the university, the real measure of the sound academic foundation on which he built the modern university was the achievements of the men and the departments he put to work in the new buildings. Wheeler's successors continued his high standards. In a survey by the American Council on Education during 1938, the Berkeley campus of the University of California tied with Harvard for first place in a weighted rating of distinguished and adequate departments among American universities.

The Guggenheim Foundation reported in 1937 that the University of California had been awarded more Guggenheim fellowships than any other university, with Harvard, Chicago, and Minnesota tied for second place. In 1941 the several branches of the university had twenty-seven members in the National Academy of Sciences (established by President Abraham Lincoln as a means of singling out the Nation's most noted scholars for advisory service to the Federal Government), whose membership is limited to 314, or an average of six for each State.

Advances in Religion

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, largely responsible for the planning, naming, and publicizing of Berkeley, helped shape the character of the town in many ways: one which was unexpected to the founders—but which pleased the church-goers who dominated the town's early populace—was a State law of 1873 (recast in 1876 and again in 1909) establishing a prohibition belt around the university campus as a means of shielding

college students from the temptations of alcohol. Each prohibition fixed a different width to the "dry" zone. The first prohibited traffic in "malt, spirituous or other alcoholic liquors" within a two-mile limit; the second failed to mention malt liquors, and reduced the limit to one mile; the third also failed to mention malt liquors, and fixed the boundary at one and one-half miles. The later acts, being less rigid than the first, were a cause of much concern to the town's temperance groups, since they left West Berkeley outside the dry zone. Many attempts to close the saloons which flourished there culminated in a short-lived prohibition ordinance of 1899-1900. In 1906 the *Berkeley Reporter* remarked editorially: "The State law prohibits the sale of liquor within a mile of the University, and the general attitude of the citizens has always been to discourage the sale of liquor in every part of the town." But although outnumbered in the city's elections, the West Berkeleyans stuck steadfastly to their claim for self-determination of the liquor question, and continued to operate their taverns.

Despite the waywardness of the western district, the dry zone, which blanketed the larger part of Berkeley's land and population, gave the city an early reputation as a very moral town. It attracted additional residents with an aversion to alcohol, so that Berkeley became a citadel for the anti-saloon movement and maintained a high ratio of churches. "Magnificent churches of all Christian denominations are very largely attended and their pastors keep in touch with the work of the University and with University life," stated the *Berkeley Reporter* in January, 1906. "The interchange of influence has been most helpful and the churches find many of their most ardent supporters among the University Faculty and among the students."

The religious development of Berkeley kept pace with the town's educational achievements; the village chapels, halls, and schoolrooms where small groups had gathered for the first religious services were supplanted by handsome new buildings. The First Congregational Church, which

had held Berkeley's initial services for twenty-three charter members in a tiny chapel in 1875, built a imposing edifice of old New England style in 1924 at a cost of more than \$250,000. The Trinity Methodist Church, pure Gothic, was built in 1928 at a cost of \$130,000, and six years later a \$40000 social and religious educational hall was added. The Epworth University Methodist Church erected its present building in 1923 at an expenditure of \$200,000, and the University Christian Church completed its structure, English Gothic in design, at a cost of \$120,000 in 1931.

In 1941 there were more than seventy churches of various faiths in Berkeley, and university student centers were maintained by the Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist, Congregational, and Lutheran denominations.

Many famous personages have visited the churches of the city of learning. "Dr. Stanley Armstrong Hunter owns a hymnal which bears the signatures of nearly a thousand persons who have, at his request, written their names after their favorite hymns," reported Hal Johnson in the *Berkeley Gazette* in March, 1941. "Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt signed under 'Lead, Kindly Light,' as did both President Robert Gordon Sproul and Mrs. Sproul; also Roger W. Babson, John Howell, Jeanette Rankin, and several others. One might believe that former President Herbert Hoover, because of his great humanitarian work during the last World War, might have selected 'Rescue the Perishing,' but he didn't. Both he and Mrs. Hoover wrote their names over Kipling's recessional, 'God of Our Fathers'."

Edward Rowland Sill, who served as professor of English at the university from 1874 to 1902, was the author of the hymn, "Send Down Thy Truth, O God"; it was taken from his book of poetry, *The Hermitage*, published in 1876. This hymn is found in the Congregational and Methodist hymn books, which also contain a hymn written in 1913 by the Reverend Charles Stedman Newhall, who died in Berkeley in 1935 at the age of ninety-three. Dr. Frederick L. Hosmer, former pastor of the Unitarian

Church, who died in Berkeley in 1929, at the age of eighty-nine, was also a well-known hymn writer.

1908-1941

VI: City of Homes—and Industry

THE YEARS following the San Francisco fire were the most frenzied in Berkeley's history. The municipality, which had been growing pleasantly in the atmosphere of quiet refinement surrounding the university, was suddenly inundated in a flood of population and business that undermined its poise and almost washed away its civic independence.

For some time the city did not recognize its danger. Its business-men gloried in the boom that was skyrocketing land values and swelling their trade. The Chamber of Commerce, organized in 1905, helped the flood with pamphlets and inspired magazine articles on the theme "Berkeley the Beautiful." ("I suppose omnipotent power could make a better place for a city than Berkeley's location, but has it ever yet done so?" one *Grizzly Bear* contributor asked, paraphrasing Henry Ward Beecher's encomium to the genus *Fragaria*: "I suppose God *could* make something nicer to eat than strawberries, but I don't think He ever did.")

Attracted by such ardent claims, thousands of new residents poured into the city. The population increased 206 per cent from 1900 to 1910—the fourth largest gain of any city in the country—and most of the growth occurred in the last three years of the decade. One thousand two hundred and eighty-three building permits were issued in 1906, compared with 696 the year before; 37 new factories sprang up in four months after the fire; bank deposits increased 113 per cent from 1906 to 1907. Business leaders had good reason to agree with E. D. Burroughs, who wrote in the

January, 1908, *Grizzly Bear* that "Berkeley has innumerable things to be thankful for."

One of the things Berkeley could not be thankful for, in the opinion of many, was its city government. Professor William Carey Jones, Dean of the university's School of Jurisprudence, gave a warning and an indictment in a speech at the annual dinner of the Berkeley Unitarian Club in February, 1907: "Berkeley . . . has been growing weaker under two influences: The influence arising from abnormal growth and scattered loci of population, and the influence arising from the greed of the politician . . . Formerly . . . the community was too small to offer much temptation to the professional politician. There was nothing to be boss of. But as the city has increased in population the party managers have been keen to see their opportunity and have begun to exploit it for purposes foreign to its own interests. The material resources of the city have not yet experienced much, if any, actual graft, or the most noisome kind of graft, but there is exploitation of the city for the benefit of the organization, of the machine, in its work for state and national politics. This shame has already fallen on Berkeley, and, if the tendencies are not now checked, her shame will be as dark as that of any of her sisters. For with growing opportunities rapacity will grow . . ."

Jones had served on a committee which in 1906 had submitted a new charter to the city's board of trustees. Defeated then by disagreement of the board members, he was made chairman of a board of fifteen freeholders to draw up a new charter. "The new charter," reported West Berkeley's weekly *Citizen* in its first issue, April 27, 1908, "provides for the recall of officers of the municipality who are unsatisfactory or who betray their trust, upon the presentation of a petition signed by a certain number of names. The new charter also provides for the referendum, which means that all important matters, such as the large expenditure of money or the bonding of the city, shall be referred to the people in election." The measure established a nonpartisan commission form of government. Presented

to Berkeley's electorate on January 30, 1909, it carried by a large majority.

The new charter was widely praised, the Chamber of Commerce reporting that it "is acknowledged to be the most progressive instrument of its kind ever drawn in America." Des Moines, Iowa, previously rated holder of the Nation's best city charter, bowed to Berkeley, granting that hers was the "ideal charter for an American city"; Oakland, applying the sincerest form of flattery, used it as a model for one of her own.

But adoption of a new form of government did not solve all of Berkeley's civic problems. Many of the newcomers who had swelled the population figure—and some of the old-timers—did not share the community pride which had kept Berkeley in aloof independence of her sister East Bay cities. In 1908 West Berkeley had given strong support to a move for secession from the eastern part of the city, and in 1910 and 1911 the community was the target of annexation attempts by both Oakland and San Francisco.

The proposal to merge with Oakland had been considered many times before. In 1874 adherents of the plan had helped delay Berkeley's incorporation; in 1878 incorporation was almost forestalled again by the attempt of Oakland business interests to annex the college community. The pros and cons of consolidation had been weighed frequently, but although Berkeleyans recognized the natural economic unity of the East Bay—demonstrated by joint utility and transportation systems—they were reluctant to subject control of their municipal affairs, especially development of schools and churches, to the larger and less idealistic voting population of their southern neighbor.

The 1910 campaign was inspired by Oakland's desire to form a consolidated city and county government in the East Bay, under provisions of a constitutional amendment then up for consideration in the State Legislature. Oaklanders, holding out as bait the promise of lower taxes and a simplified governmental system, urged merging of the two cities as a preliminary step towards the city-county administration.

This proposal met with indignant opposition from spokesmen for the university city. While admitting the advantages of a combined city-county government, they denied that merger with Oakland was a necessary, or desirable, step in that direction. They called the proposal “not consolidation, but deglutition. We are not asked to be married, but to be swallowed” (the Reverend Richard M. Vaughan, pastor of the First Baptist Church); “urbicide” (the *Gazette*); and “suicide” (university President Benjamin Ide Wheeler). They questioned the move on legal (Mayor Hodghead), ethical (Professor William Carey Jones), and moral grounds (Assistant Probation Officer Beatrice A. McCall, who sounded a peak in pre-election hysteria with the statement: “As well send a little girl in a white frock to play all day in a filthy backyard and expect her to come in at night unspotted, as to send girls out in Oakland to choose their pleasures alone and expect them to come home unspoiled.”)

To the Oakland argument that the merger would make the East Bay one of the great cities of the West, President Wheeler gave a dignified answer, reflecting the opinion of many of his fellow townsmen: “All this talk in the present case is for something greater, a greater city, a greater population. Why does not someone call for a better community, a better city? When someone has a better Berkeley to propose, I am in favor of it, but I am not particularly interested in a Greater Berkeley.” To this he added an excited conclusion: “It is an act of suicide to give up our community . . . It is impossible for me to regard this proposed annexation in any other light than that of genuine horror.”

Battered with such a barrage of arguments from the front, sides, and rear, the annexation proposal was badly defeated at the polls on September 5, 1910. The *Gazette* quoted the following tabulation: Berkeley—1,401 for, 4,010 against; Oakland—2,914 for, 333 against. It added a righteous note of justification for the virulent campaign: “That the saloon question was the main issue back of the annexation is shown by the voting in the sections of the city where saloons formerly flourished.”

As far as her own voters were concerned, Berkeley wanted to be left alone. Her peace of mind did not last long, however. When the State Legislature convened in January, 1911, one of the measures up for consideration was the Wolfe consolidation bill, aimed at combining San Francisco and the East Bay cities into one big metropolis.

During the previous battle with Oakland, one argument of Berkeleyans against annexation had been the desire for the university city to retain a free hand in working out its relations with San Francisco. Outright annexation to the transbay metropolis was disliked almost as much as annexation to Oakland, but the city's leaders were more sympathetic toward a suggestion for establishment of a borough system similar to that of Greater New York, which would not completely submerge the separate identities of the parts.

Oakland, however, promptly took the lead in fighting the new consolidation measure. Its Chamber of Commerce approved a resolution in November, 1910, opposing "consolidation with or annexation to San Francisco." Oakland sponsored a change in the bill reducing the minimum population for formation of a city-county government from 300,000 (as originally proposed for the benefit of Los Angeles), to 190,000, the combined population of Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda.

Sensing in this move another threat to its independence, Berkeley was building up to the same peak of excitement that had preceded the annexation election. A committee headed by Mayor Hodghead commuted to Sacramento, urging on the one hand that the population figure be reduced to 40,000 to enable Berkeley to form its own consolidated government, and on the other that the measure be defeated entirely. ". . . the true motto is 'hands off,'" cautioned Wells Drury, Secretary of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, "when it comes to considering what the various independent cities about San Francisco bay desire to do in working out their own destiny. It is impertinent, to say the least, for San Francisco and other larger communities to meddle with the domestic arrangements

of a growing city like Berkeley." In another high peak of invective, he added that "the bill as it is proposed is unworthy of a free country, and any person who advocates it ought to go back to [Czarist] Russia, where he and his kind belong."

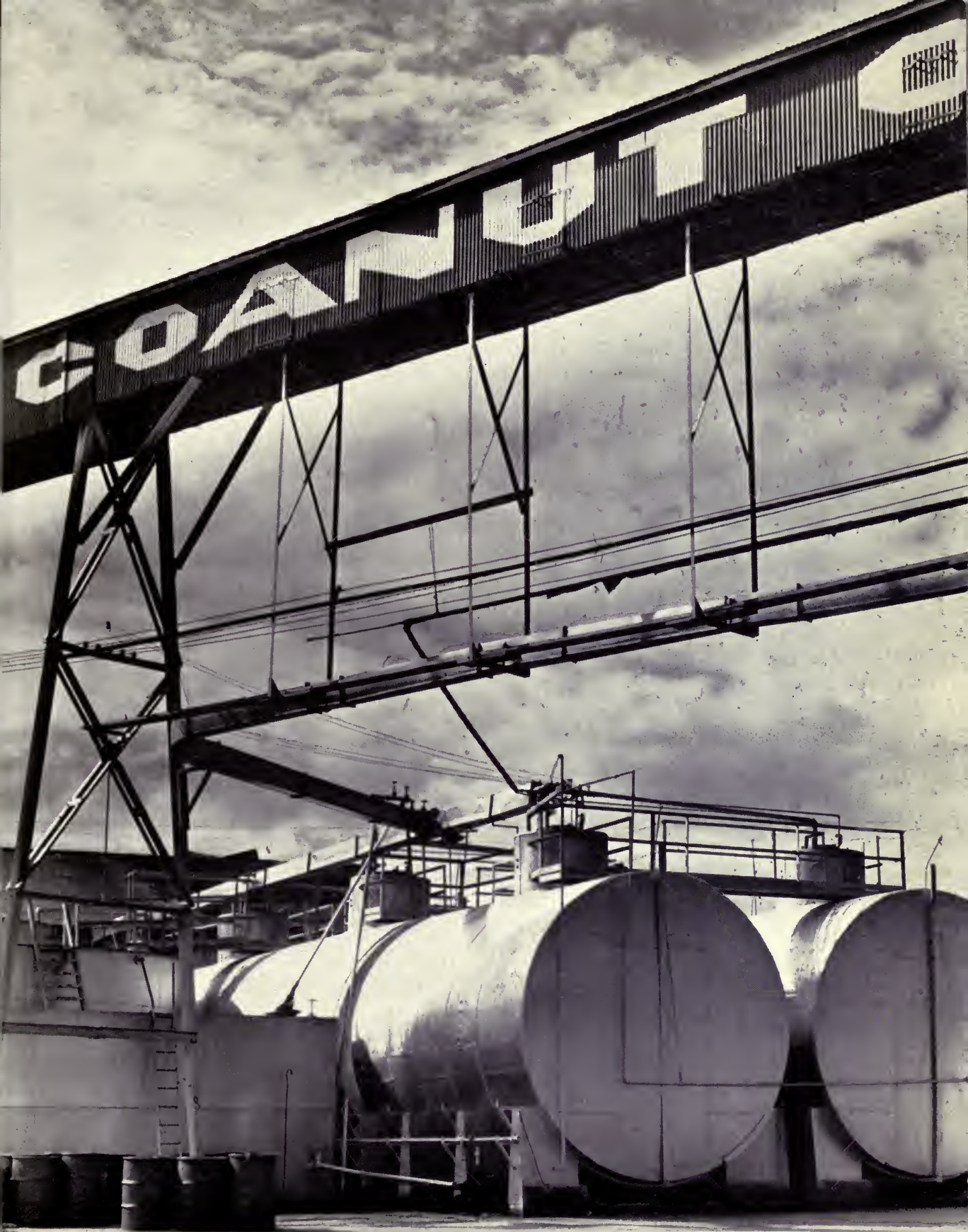
Having in this case found a common ground of opposition with its sister city to the south, Berkeley heard with satisfaction on March 4, 1911, that the Wolfe bill had been defeated in the Senate by a vote of 21 to 9. Now, having been successful in two bitter battles for its independence, the university city was able to turn its attention to internal problems arising largely from the rapid assimilation of thousands of new residents who had poured into the city continuously for the past five years.

Enticements to New Settlers

WHAT BROUGHT the new residents to Berkeley? A 1912 Chamber of Commerce publication gives one man's answer under the heading, "Why He Came": "'That's what brought me to Berkeley,' said a stranger who called at the rooms of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce the other day, at the same time displaying one of the publicity pamphlets which had been sent him from the Chamber of Commerce. He stated that he had just bought a home in Berkeley, and expected to live here the rest of his life. 'Let me have some of that good stuff and I'll bring my brother-in-law here in less than three months,' he added as he received a handful of pamphlets that tell about the advantages of our city."

The Chamber of Commerce had much persuasive material to put into that "good stuff," its advertising pamphlets, and it had many allies in scattering the renown of Berkeley to prospective residents and businesses. Papers of other cities, and even foreign periodicals, extolled the city's advantages, scenic and educational, industrial and climatic.

One of the main enticements to new residents was the even-tempered climate of Berkeley. Unquestionably the lack of snow and sleet influenced many an Easterner to pack away his fur coat and ear muffs and move into



A Berkeley Industry—Oils for Food and for Paint



Berkeley Aggregate Plant



Welding Fittings on Irrigation Pipe



Mixing Waterpaints—a Berkeley Industry



Industrial Berkeley

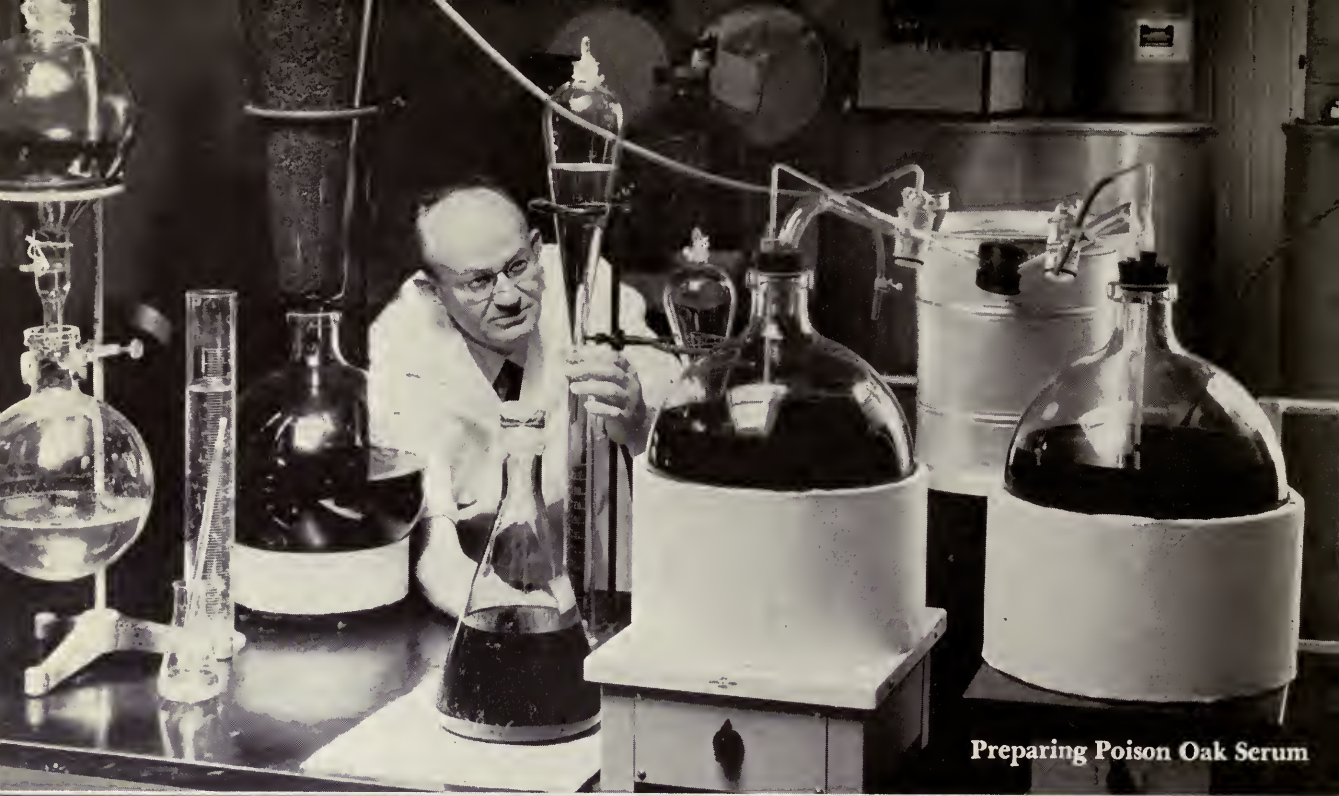


Around the World from Berkeley



Sacking Fertilizer from the South Seas





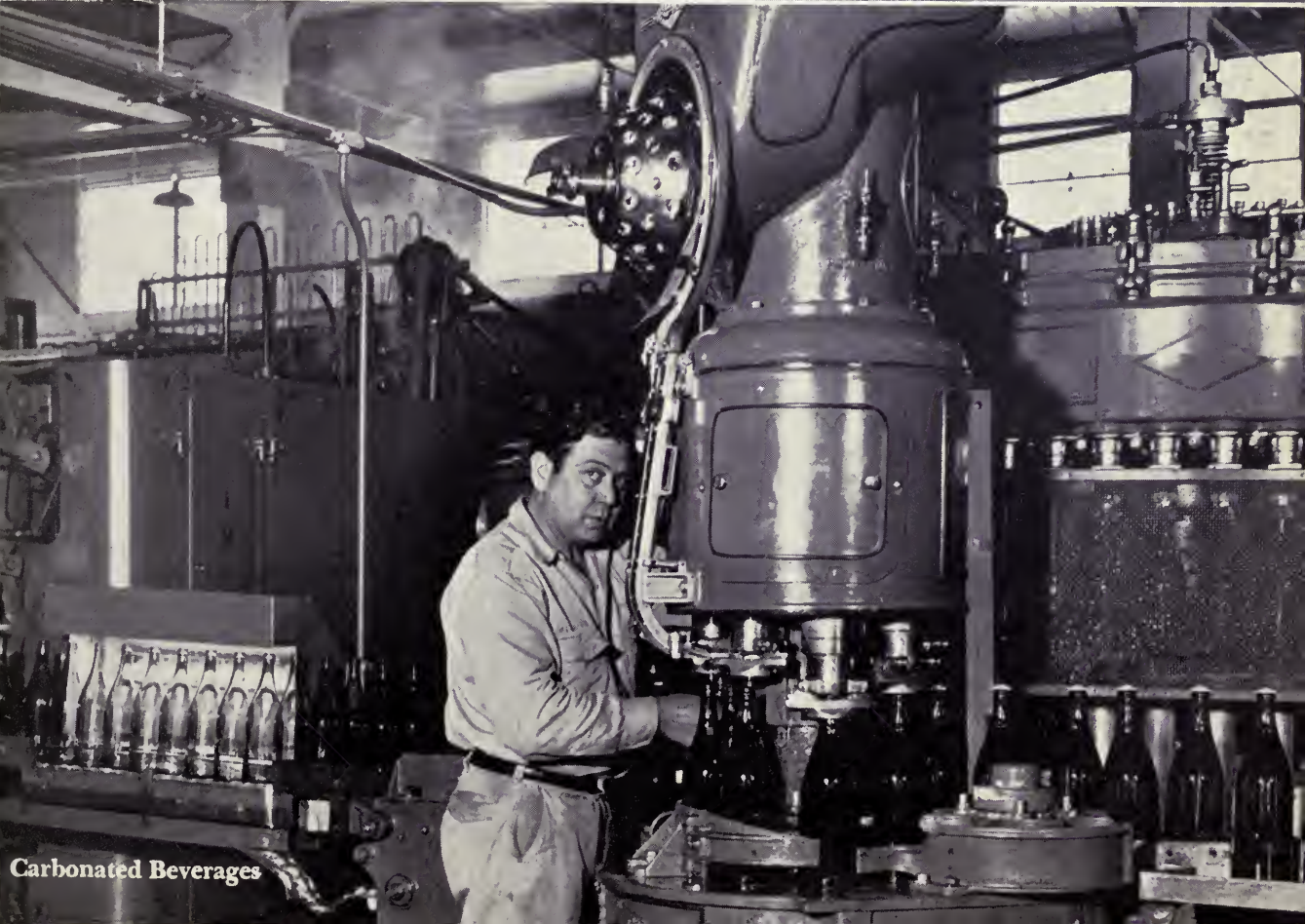
Preparing Poison Oak Serum



1900-pound Cakes of Laundry Soap



Building Commercial Motor Trailers in Berkeley



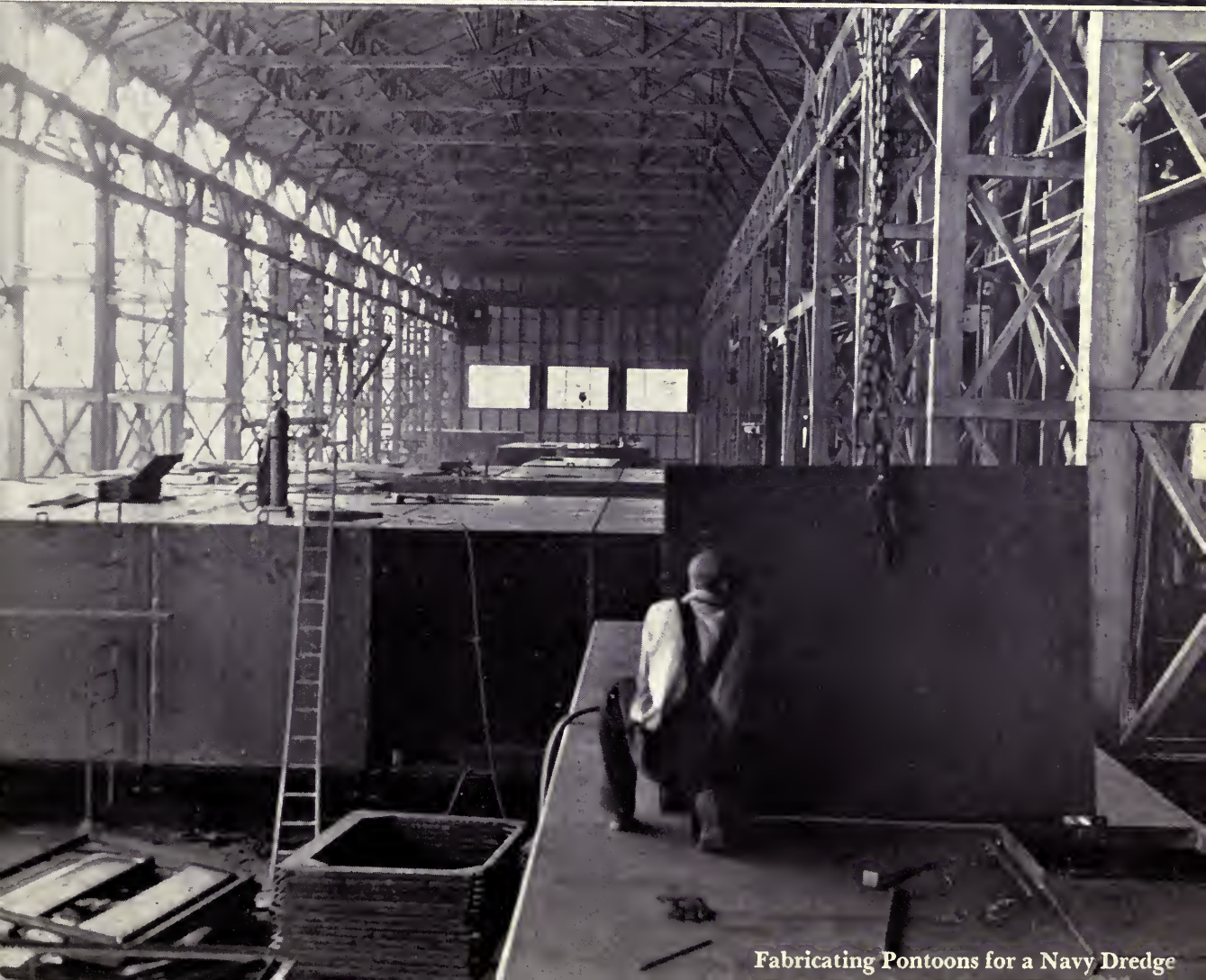
Carbonated Beverages



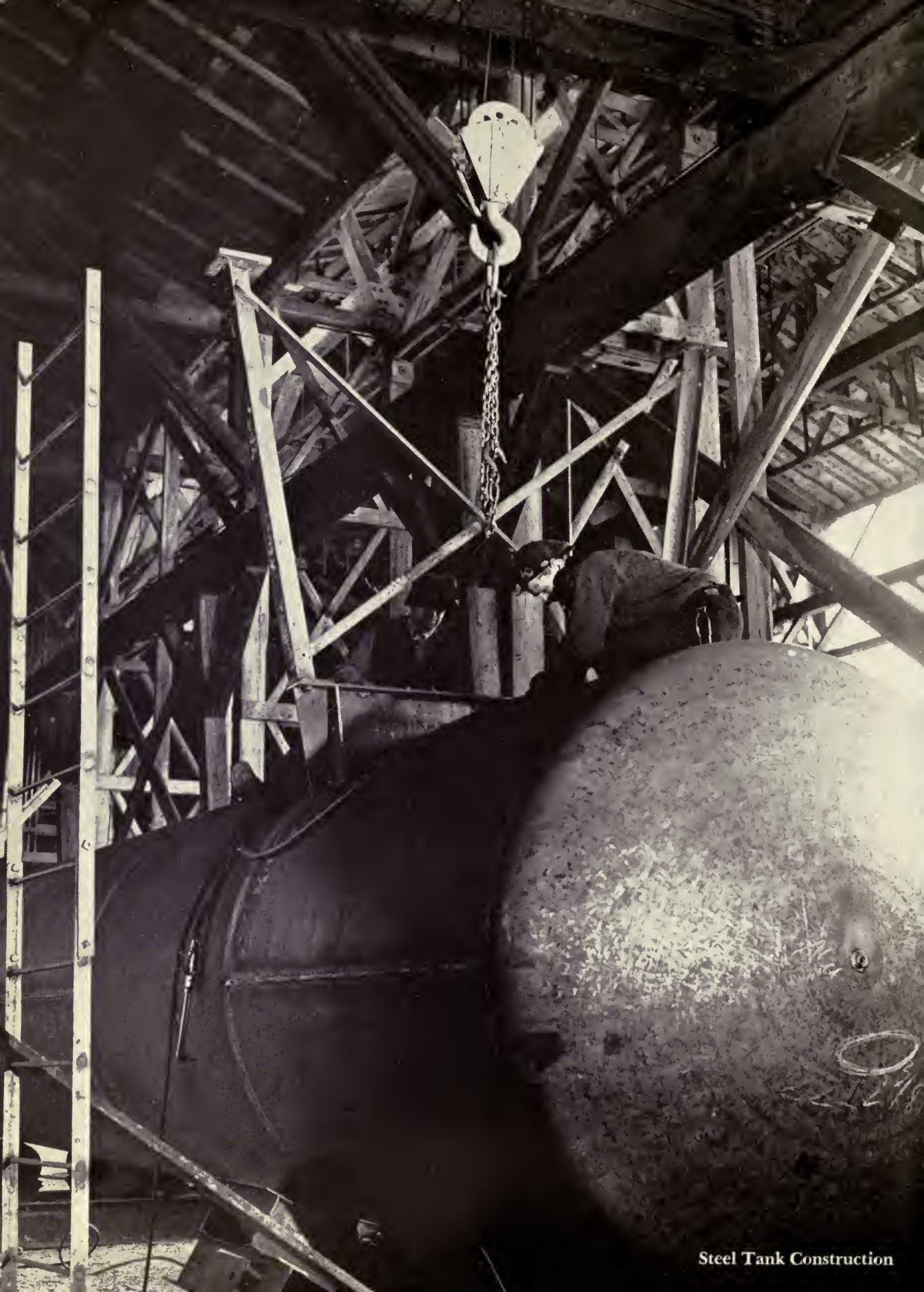
Chalk from the Cliffs of Dover for a Berkeley Kalsomine Plant



Food Industries



Fabricating Pontoons for a Navy Dredge



Steel Tank Construction

a Berkeley home. The Chamber of Commerce took pains to contrast the temperature of Berkeley and the East. When winter came, the agency was not far behind with a message of spring. "Now's a good time to compare your weather with that of your eastern friends," said one bulletin, "Below zero—Chicago, 8 degrees; Dubuque, 16 . . . Above zero—San Diego, 50 degrees . . . Berkeley, 36.

"Doesn't it make your teeth chatter to think of the frigidity of those places east of the Rocky Mountains? If you do not appreciate the superiority of California's climate you deserve to be condemned to live in Chicago or Minneapolis for your natural life."

One merchant imbued with community spirit suggested that Berkeley station "be decorated with a huge thermometer, say about thirty feet high, or at any rate tall enough to mark the changes . . . in this equable and most enjoyable climate."

The city's healthfulness also attracted new residents. Berkeley led all Pacific Coast cities in 1910 with a death rate of 9.2 per 1,000; 13.4 was the rate in Los Angeles, 15.5 in San Francisco.

Berkeley's low lumber rates stimulated construction of homes. "Now is the time to build," urged one contractor in 1912. "There is a mighty good money-making proposition for the man who is willing to invest in . . . dwelling houses . . . At Berkeley's present rate of growth there is no immediate danger of having a surplus of good dwelling houses."

Home-owners swelled the population in 1916 to about fifty thousand. To protect the quiet of their homes from the inroads of factories and business, a city planning commission—the second of its kind in California—was formed. The commission spent months studying the zone regulations of other cities, and laid out eight classes of zones, from single-family residences to heavy industries. A city ordinance defined the purpose of this zoning to be "to provide for, regulate and direct the future growth, development and beautification of the City in order to secure to the City of Berkeley and its inhabitants better sanitation, adequate and suitable parks

and open spaces . . . proper location of public buildings.' The zoning regulations were not retroactive, but they gave property-owners, especially home-owners, protection against possible encroachment of undesirable types of structures in their districts.

As Berkeley's empty lots filled with houses and business units, newcomers spread out beyond the city boundaries into adjoining open areas. The southern boundary had been pushed solidly up to Oakland's northern limit by annexation of South Berkeley in 1892 and of the Claremont district in 1906. Between Berkeley's northern limit and the county line there still remained unattached territory, however, embracing the subdivisions of Thousand Oaks, Cragmont, Northbrae, and an in-between area called "no man's land."

By 1920 these districts had almost five thousand resident population, and spokesmen on both sides of the boundary began to agitate for their annexation to the university city. To Berkeley the merger meant increased taxable property, and a substantial boost in population. To the outsiders it meant, in the words of one of them, "better lights, better mail delivery . . . ability to enforce building restrictions, a city library with an attendant, ability to enforce zoning plans, city supervision of sewers and streets, and finally city fire and police protection."

Unlike the annexation battle in which Berkeley had engaged ten years before, this campaign was friendly and calm on both sides. "We all are proud to name Berkeley as our 'place of residence,'" stated E. E. Stephenson, of the Northbrae Interurban Association, "yet to be strictly truthful under present conditions we cannot claim Berkeley as our home. Imagine the effect if, on being asked where he lived, a local resident would reply that he lived in 'No Man's Land.' No one could identify him as a citizen of any one place."

This source of embarrassment was dispersed when the voters, on November 13, 1920, balloted 242 to 143 in favor of annexation. In so doing they reached the limits of Berkeley's territorial expansion. Thereafter,

with no more unattached land adjacent to it within Alameda County, the city would have to heed President Wheeler's earlier admonition, to work not for a "Greater Berkeley," but for a "better Berkeley." This they did, and within the next few years Berkeley achieved a Nation-wide reputation as a well-governed city. In 1923 it became one of the first cities of its size to adopt the council-manager form of government, and the distinguished records of its individual departments—police, fire, recreation, schools, health—brought widespread commendation.

Like San Francisco, Berkeley also had a trial by fire, and—again like the transbay metropolis—it reacted from the catastrophe by becoming a better-planned and better-built city. An editor of the *Gazette* remarked, on a sultry day in September, 1923, that "this surely would be a bad day for a fire." A few hours later a brush fire back in the hills broke loose, and moved onto the residential section north of the university campus. Fanned by a high wind the flames leap-frogged some wooden buildings and demolished brick structures. They gutted sororities, hotels, schools, and libraries, and capped the distress of an inadequate fire department by destroying a fire station.

Almost the entire city—students and townspeople—turned out to fight the flames. Everything that could be soaked and spread on shingle roofs—bedding and garments—was soaked and spread. Sorority girls ran around skirtless, and drew not censure but praise, because they were using their skirts to beat out smouldering embers. An old man tottered down the street with two bottles of "liquid" in his side pockets and a revolver in his hip pocket, muttering, "That's all that's left." A woman hurried around with a smoke-killed canary in a cage. Nobody paid much attention; all were too busy dragging chairs and tables into the street.

The flames ate their way to the edge of the campus and the business district, and only a shift in the high wind spared the major part of Berkeley. The city's fire department, though proud of its record for fire prevention, was no match for this conflagration, and a shortage of water nullified the

help of most of the fire apparatus which arrived from neighboring cities.

The fire led to reforms and enlargement of the fire department. In this the city's previous experience was being repeated, as it was only after disastrous blazes that the citizens of East and West Berkeley had organized volunteer departments during the eighties.

Business and Industry

THE DESOLATE scene left by the 1923 fire rivaled the 1906 picture of San Francisco. What had been part of the city's best residential area was now a wasteland of gaunt chimneys, charred tree stumps, and rubble. The townspeople, reckoning the cost, counted more than six hundred buildings destroyed, with an estimated loss of ten million dollars in property, and—far more tragic to individual home owners—complete destruction of personal belongings, irreplaceable libraries, and art collections.

Work of reconstruction was started immediately. Berkeley could not let such a large portion of its residential land remain unoccupied very long. The four thousand dwellers who had been dispossessed by the fire had to be cared for, and homes had to be made for new arrivals who were moving in at the rate of twenty-five hundred a year. The record of building permits issued by the city's Building Department reveals the intensity of reconstruction: from a total of 2,182 in 1922 the number went to 2,598 in 1923, to 3,562 in 1924, and to an all-time high of 4,293 in 1925. The scars of the fire were gradually healed over, and more modern homes rose in place of the old ones.

Not all of Berkeley's construction during this period was residential. The industrial boom which had been started by the San Francisco fire in 1906 continued at an increasing pace for two decades. The census of manufactures showed 84 plants in Berkeley in 1909; the number of establishments rose to 113 in 1919, and shot on up to 193 in 1928. Even more significant was the mounting value of goods produced in Berkeley factories during these years: from about \$4,500,000 in 1909, it showed a sevenfold

increase to over \$28,000,000 in 1919, then skyrocketed to over \$60,000,000 in 1928. Berkeley, which Warren Cheney of the Chamber of Commerce first ventured to call "Commercial Berkeley" in 1906, had achieved a definite place on the State's industrial map, and the current secretary of the city's Chamber of Commerce, Hollis R. Thompson, soon to become City Manager, reported a bewildering variety of products in an article, "Some Facts About Berkeley," in the *Berkeley Courier* for June 1, 1929:

"Berkeley is the largest center of production of cocoanut oil in the United States and therefore in the world. The best equipped machine shop on the Pacific Coast (with respect to automatic machines and machines of precision) is located here; Berkeley makes the high school laboratory apparatus for eleven western states; we make here Fageol motors; marine engines and gas engines of all descriptions; gears of all kinds and threaded products; electrical appliances; thermostats and hydrometers; automatic egg cleaning and candling machines; fine tools from 1,600-pound oil well drills down to dies and parts adjusted to the accuracy of one ten-thousandth part of an inch; we make motor-driven railroad cars; motor-boats; centrifugal pumps and centrifuges; time clocks and other clocks; musical instruments; toys and dolls; soaps and food products; chemical and bacteriological products; battery parts; household furniture; paints and kalsomines; sulphur and silicate; mineral and vegetable oils; printing and lithographing inks; leathers and fertilizers; tanks and boilers; furnaces and metal show cases. We have here brass and metal foundries, wood-working plants and wicker works; and even tin-can and metal salvage plants. We now have, in addition, a splendid airplane manufacturing plant . . .

"Some of the foreign countries buying products manufactured in Berkeley are England, Australia, British Columbia, Canada, Central America, Chile, China, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Salvador, Peru, Sweden, Philippine Islands, South Africa and Panama."

An important result of this growth of Berkeley's industrial output was a change in the character of its population. The number of factory employees increased from 1,084 in 1909 to 4,401 in 1928. An analysis of the working population of the city in 1920 showed the largest proportion, 29 per cent, engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries. This compared with 39 per cent in San Francisco and 31 per cent in Oakland. The next largest group was the professional workers, comprising 19 per cent—an unusually high ranking which came from the large number of teachers in Berkeley's various institutions of learning. Clerical occupations came third, with 16 per cent, followed closely by trade, and trailed by domestic service, transportation, and various other occupations.

Industrial development was also largely responsible for a great increase in foreign population. The 1930 census showed 12,163 foreign-born white residents of Berkeley in a total population of 82,109. Of these, 4,638—more than one-third—from the British Isles and Canada were well assimilated throughout the city's hillside residential districts, as were the 1,128 Germans who comprised the largest foreign-language group. Italians, Swedes, and Finns, the next groups in order, were concentrated more in the industrial western and southern sections of the city, as were the 2,177 Negroes and 1,653 orientals.

Berkeley's industrial production, in common with that of the country as a whole, fell off greatly during the depression, but recovered to the point where its major plants produced goods valued at over \$43,000,000 in 1937. And as the national defense program got under way in 1940-41, the city's business leaders looked with satisfaction on the diversified nature of Berkeley's manufacturing facilities, and on its space for expansion, as promising a substantial increase in output.

"A Finer Place to Live"

ALREADY FAMOUS as a center of learning, Berkeley had developed by 1940 into a center of industry, but it made its greatest appeal as a city of homes.



Hillside Homes



A Typical Berkeley Home—Monterey Architecture



Panoramic Air View of Berkeley,
in 1908, from Captive Airship



Berkeley Police, 1911. Chief Vollmer in Center



Berkeley's First Motor Drawn Steam Pumper,
1914. Department Chief Kenney at Right

The beauty of Berkeley's physical setting has always given impetus to individuality in home design; its winding streets, Bay vistas, and fine trees have lent themselves to originality of treatment. Into this background Bernard Maybeck introduced the redwood-finished house with exposed beams and rafters left in their natural state and with large fireplaces of brick or stone. He designed the first house of this type for his friend Charles Keeler at the head of Ridge Road about 1900. Conforming with the hill setting of North Berkeley, it influenced the architecture of the entire district. Later Maybeck made use of color in home exteriors, combining cement with redwood, sometimes painting the stucco. (A graduate of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, he attained national distinction for the Palace of Fine Arts, which he designed for the San Francisco Exposition of 1915.) Following Maybeck, Louis C. Mullgardt introduced a type of structure similar to the so-called functional home of today. Mullgardt's design called for nearly flat low-pitched roofs and wide overhanging eaves. His completed home presented a picture of well-proportioned masses oriented to the natural charm of the Berkeley hills and trees. A noncommittal but exceedingly popular style during the early 1900's, when Maybeck and Mullgardt were at work, was the brown shingle house, many examples of which still stand.

In the twenties, Tudor and Elizabethan styles vied for public favor with the Spanish: when a fine home was planned, one of these types was usually chosen. Both were well adapted to Berkeley's climate and geographic conditions. The English type had been introduced into Berkeley by architect Walter Ratcliff, who designed many fine residences and several public buildings. Edwin Lewis Snyder was one of the pioneers in the use of the Spanish style, with its characteristic patios, overhanging balconies, and red-tiled roofs. Other imposing homes were designed by John Hudson Thomas in a stately and formal style.

Of the modern and ultramodern, Berkeley's hills display their share, with "type" houses by Eugene F. Barton, Frederick L. Confer, Gardner

Dailey, Michael Goodman, Clarence W. Mayhew, Richard Neutra, and William Wilson Wurster. The influence of the newer school of architecture is also seen in the remodeling of older houses: frequently some little shack of older days which would appear to have outlived its usefulness has been transformed into a home of charm through the triumph of a homeowner's vision and ingenuity over the obstacles of age and an inadequate pocket-book.

Equal in distinction to Berkeley's houses are its gardens. Indeed, gardens in Berkeley do not depend upon houses for their existence. Flowering trees of infinite variety line block after block of the city's streets; retaining walls in the hill districts flame with bougainvillea, climbing roses, colorful Virginia creepers, and other vivid-hued vines.

Many of Berkeley's gardens are far-famed, some of the loveliest of them hidden away quite unsuspected by the passerby. They vary in type from diminutive plots in obscure corners to large formal gardens surrounding stately residences. Here and there a Japanese garden arrests the eye: one of these, in authentic Japanese tradition, has been developed by Professor Arthur Weiss at his Keith Avenue home. Surrounding the redwood home of H. I. Schnabel is a garden famed for alpiners and sedums, which blends into its setting near Cragmont Rock. Winding paths to the rock are flanked by ferns, cinerarias, delphiniums, and rock plants. Among the "show-places" of Berkeley is the Georgian home and garden of Max Reise on Spruce Street, whose site was selected because of an unusual tree found there. Rare specimens of shrubs and trees were gathered from many climates for the Colonial-style Kennedy residence on Spruce Street. Another "show garden" is the Blood place on Euclid Avenue.

In the widely-known McDuffie gardens in Claremont, a general plan is carried out in the gardens and homes of Duncan McDuffie, Dr. Dexter N. Richards, J. F. Shuman, and G. R. Ward. Other gardens noted for their beauty in the Claremont section are the terraced garden of Walter Kolasa, in which grows the Copa de Oro (vine), and the gardens of Bartlett Heard

and of the Judge Garber home. North of the campus on Le Roy Avenue is the formal and imposing Freeman home, framed by oak trees and surrounded by a huge garden, in which thousands of brilliant tulips bloom each spring. Widely famous are the extensive Salbach commercial iris gardens, just over the ridge of the Berkeley hills. Adjoining are the well-known gardens of Professor Sidney B. Mitchell, expert floriculturist and author, and the Carbone orchid gardens, where rare species of orchids are cultivated.

The city of Berkeley itself keeps a garden: the Berkeley Municipal Rose Garden on the terraced hillside in Codornices Park, frequently compared by travelers with a scene in Naples. Many of the city's subdivisions are terraced and parked. At the entrance to the recently opened Park Hills subdivision stands an imposing fountain; terraced hill slopes brilliant with color give the impression of a large private estate. Many women's clubs in Berkeley include active garden sections which contribute to civic betterment.

It was the city of homes that was recognized by the Chamber of Commerce as having Berkeley's greatest advertising value when it sent a "Personal Invitation to California Alumni" through the *California Monthly* in 1939, calling up nostalgic memories of Berkeley, "a finer place to live . . . Think of . . . your home here as it may be placed—made unique by trailing roses beside timeless stone steps, or climbing geraniums up a stucco wall; heart-lifting vistas of distant lights seen through gracefully trailing eucalyptus; morning sunlight shadowing the Campanile to the bay; evening sunset shadowing it on lordly hills.

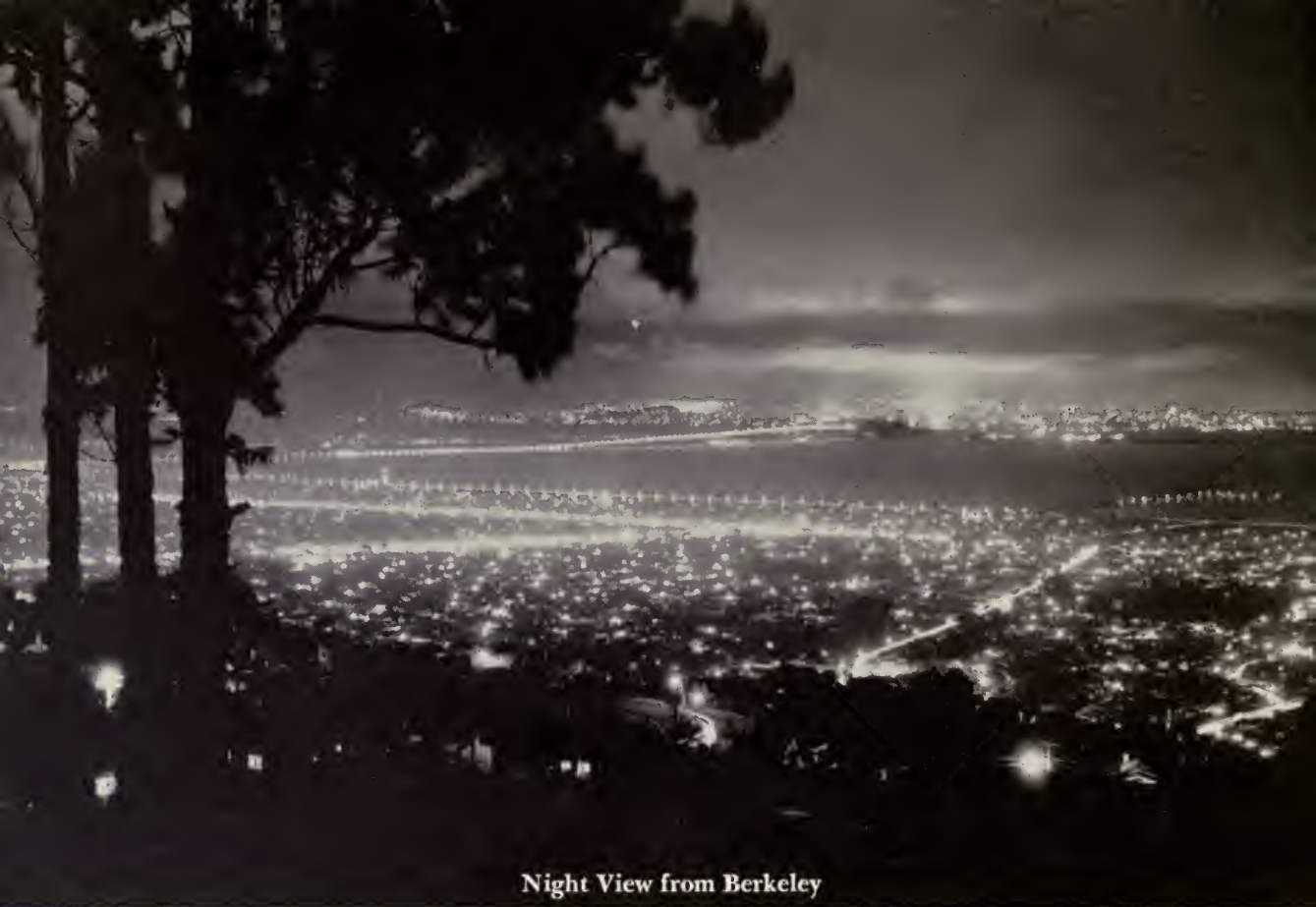
"And above all—that blending of salt breeze, drowsy flower-scents, wood smoke from quiet hearths, eucalyptus bloom and bird-song, that is forever Berkeley and for which Berkeley is unique!"



The City Hall



Berkeley's "College Cops," 1941



Night View from Berkeley



Modern Home in Modern Material
— A Plywood House in Berkeley

VII: Toward a Model Community

BERKELEY has had praise from many sources for the excellence of its municipal government. In 1929 Jerome Kerwin of the University of Chicago, after making a survey of the administration of American cities, put Berkeley with Cincinnati at the head of his list with a score of 95. In 1934 Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League, pronounced it "the best governed medium-sized city in the United States." In the same year Fred Telford, director of municipal research for the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, wrote to City Manager Hollis Thompson that "here in New Jersey . . . we say it is the best governed city in the United States and that it furnishes its citizens more services and better services than any other city. We say, too, that it is a low cost city and in numerous ways hold it up as an example that New Jersey cities should copy." Even abroad, *London*, a periodical devoted to local government in the British Empire, published an article quoting C. Montague Harris, an international authority on municipal government, as saying that "a personal investigation of its administration gives the impression that it can justify this claim [to being one of the two best-governed cities in the United States]."

In a still broader survey, Edward L. Thorndike of Teachers College, Columbia University, set up "indices of the general goodness of life for good people" for the 310 United States cities with a population in 1930 of 30,000 or over. He considered a great variety of factors ranging from

the infant death rate, per capita deaths from homicide, syphilis, and automobile accidents, and employment of children under fourteen years, to per capita expenditures for schools and for teachers' salaries, per capita number of homes owned, and per capita circulation of selected magazines. On the basis of these criteria of "goodness," Berkeley tied with Brookline, Massachusetts, for fourth place, being preceded only by Pasadena, Montclair, and Cleveland Heights.

Berkeley's high standing among American municipalities is the result of steady civic development during the sixty-three years since its incorporation in 1878. The large educational and church elements in its population have taken a close interest in municipal affairs and have generally managed to repress sectional, group, or political interests. Its boards, councils, and commissions have consistently included teachers and professional men. It has benefited from the advice and influence of the university's experts on government: Professor William Carey Jones, dean of the School of Jurisprudence, headed the board of freeholders which drew up the charter of 1909, establishing a nonpartisan commission form of government that became a model for many other cities. Professor Samuel C. May, a specialist in municipal government, later head of the university's Bureau of Public Administration, was influential in effecting the shift to the council-manager plan in 1923 and was elected to the first council under the new system.

In adopting the council-manager plan Berkeley joined the move from political to business administration of city governments. The five-man commission which had served since 1909 had been nonpartisan, but it divided both administrative and legislative functions among all members, none of whom was paid a high enough salary to permit full-time devotion to the job. The new plan concentrated administrative responsibility for all departments except schools in a single well-paid manager (salaries of the first three appointees ranged from \$7,000 to the legal maximum of \$10,000 per year), chosen by the council "without regard to his political

beliefs, and solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications.' Elective officials were a mayor, an auditor, eight councilmen, and four school directors. The council became primarily a legislative and policy-making body, controlling salaries of subordinate city officials but prohibited by the charter, either as a group or as individuals, from giving "orders to any of the subordinates of the City Manager, either publicly or privately." Since it was nonpartisan, and since members served on a limited-fee basis (\$5.00 per meeting for members, \$10.00 for the mayor, maximum of \$20.00 and \$40.00 per month, respectively), it had little to offer candidates in the way of political power or self-aggrandizement. Consequently it attracted as candidates for membership principally business and professional men and women with a genuine feeling of responsibility for municipal affairs. Much of the credit for the efficiency of Berkeley's government has been placed with them, both because of their freedom from petty, personal quarrels and their selection of able city managers—John N. Edy (1923-1930), who balanced the city's budget during his first year and established a sound administrative system; Hollis R. Thompson (1930-1940), who continued his predecessor's efficient practices; and Chester C. Fisk (1940-), who came into the position with a good background of administrative experience and a close familiarity with the job.

Another example of the city's civic progressiveness was the "stockholder" plan instituted by Mayor Frank Stewart Gaines in 1939, which received Nationwide attention as "The Berkeley Plan." At the mayor's special invitation ten citizens, or "stockholders," attend each meeting of the council, to observe the workings of the city government and to partake in discussion of business matters. "The basic idea," Mayor Gaines explained in the *National Municipal Review*, "is to arouse in our citizens a greater sense of responsibility for the affairs of local government. Our aim is to put citizens to work for democracy and to stimulate their interest in the American method of government."

Mayor Gaines decided on this method of inducing citizen participation in the government as an answer to the complaint that the people are “‘governed by politicians’ because their municipal governments have been magnificent mysteries to them.” “The average council meeting in the average American city of today,” he said, “is an affair ill-attended by the citizenry, customarily attended only by those with some axe to grind, and often attended only by professional hangers-on . . .

“Our new Berkeley method is designed to convince citizens that they do, indeed, govern themselves—just as the old New Englanders knew for a certainty—and that *they* are the ‘stockholders’ in the community corporation, to whom the councilmen, as their board of directors, are strictly responsible.”

Names of prospective “stockholders” are selected from the precinct lists, through samplings covering all sections of the city. Invitations are divided equally between men and women, Democrats and Republicans, twenty being sent out for each meeting in the expectation that only about half the recipients will be able to accept. The “stockholders” are given copies of the city charter; the mayor delivers a brief explanation of the council’s procedure, and invites the stockholders to make suggestions or to interrupt the council’s discussions “at any time a question may occur to them.”

To the criticism that this plan would retard the operations of the council the mayor answered that “the affairs . . . are handled just as expeditiously as before, and probably more so. Petty, futile obstructions tend to disappear when mayor, city officers, and council are placed fully on their behaviour in the presence of the ‘stockholders’ who are given *carte blanche* to criticize.”

Under the spur of such civic responsibility on the part of its citizens and elected officials as this, it is not surprising that Berkeley developed a government distinguished not only for general efficiency, but for notable achievements of individual departments.

Berkeley's "College Cops"

PERHAPS no one of the municipal departments attracted more favorable publicity than the police department, and its excellence results largely from the work of one man, August Vollmer. When he was elected town marshal in 1905 Berkeley was a growing community of about 20,000, with but eight police officers and a reputation among crooks for having the poorest protection of any town on the Pacific Coast, "while," Vollmer wrote in the *Berkeley Reporter*, "we should have the best police department in the United States, especially when we consider: First. The class of people who make their homes here. Second. The nearness of two large cities which harbor many criminals. Third. That two trans-continental main lines run through this town. Fourth. The ease with which it is possible to hide here, and the many different routes that may be taken to leave after having committed a crime."

Without overpolicing the community, Vollmer became a pioneer in an intelligent, intensive effort to prevent crime. He upheld the theory that criminals are essentially pathological or social problems and that brutal treatment of prisoners accomplishes nothing toward reform. He turned his office into a chemical laboratory where every phase of criminology was studied. A prospective member of his force was required to achieve a very high grade (135) in the Alpha test used by the Army during the World War—a grade achieved by only ten per cent of the Army's men.

Under Vollmer's direction the Berkeley department initiated many new procedures in police work. The first electric police signal light system in the United States was installed in Berkeley in 1906. The city had the first completely motorized police department in the Nation in 1913, when patrolmen's motorcycles were replaced with automobiles. The first experimental work in the field of radio communication with police cars was conducted by the Berkeley department. The record system devised in 1906 by C. D. Lee, later captain of detectives, became the foundation for

scientific police record systems now used widely throughout the country.

The much discussed "lie detector" (polygraph in scientific terminology) was developed by John A. Larsen, a member of the Berkeley police force who had received his Ph.D. degree in physiology and was working for a degree in medicine. This instrument operates on the theory that effort to deceive creates nervous tensions which, combined with any conscious effort to control these reactions, can be detected by means of apparatus for recording respiratory changes, pulse wave, and blood pressure. In 1921 Larsen read—at Vollmer's request—an article by William Marston, a member of the Boston Bar, who had experimented with blood pressure in the detection of falsehoods. Improving upon Marston's method by the use of devices producing a continuous record of blood pressure and pulse rate, Larsen assembled the first cumbersome forerunner of the modern polygraph. Leonard Keeler (a son of the Berkeley poet, Charles Keeler), then a high school student, became interested in the machine and assisted Larson in its operation. The first time the polygraph was officially used in criminal investigation in Berkeley was in 1921. A smaller, more portable "lie detector" was later constructed by Larsen and Keeler, and the latter, who specialized in criminology, subsequently developed his own version of the polygraph.

The Keeler polygraph now has a wide variety of commercial uses. For ten years many of Chicago's banks, department stores, chain stores, and restaurants have been using the machine with astonishing results. In 1931 the apparatus was demonstrated to the underwriters of Lloyd's in London, resulting in premium reductions up to ten per cent for banks giving periodic tests with the polygraph to all their employees.

The first scientific crime detection laboratory in the United States, the forerunner of similar laboratories now functioning in all parts of the country, was organized in 1915 by Dr. Albert Schneider of the Berkeley Police Department, who is also credited with having written the first articles describing scientific crime detection using laboratory equipment.

Dr. Schneider's laboratory was ridiculed quite generally during its early years, before its value was proved. Likewise, the first scientific training of police officers in America, inaugurated at the University of California at Berkeley in 1916, was heralded by cartoons and caricatures in leading newspapers.

Not satisfied with mere apprehension of criminals, Vollmer turned his attention to striking at the roots of crime. In April, 1919, a plan devised by Dr. Jau Don Ball, police department psychiatrist, was adopted by the superintendent of Berkeley's schools at Vollmer's suggestion. A special survey of Hawthorne School was conducted to determine the causes of school, home, neighborhood, and community problems and to ascertain their relationship to physical, mental, nervous, temperamental, and character defects of students. The findings were used as a basis for establishing methods of scientific examination, classification, and segregation of school children and for instructing principals in the proper selection of teachers for the various grades and special classes.

One of the social workers who conducted the survey of Hawthorne School, Mrs. Elisabeth Lossing, was placed in charge of the Crime Prevention Division of the police department—among the first in operation in California—when it was organized by Chief Vollmer in 1925. Concerned primarily with prevention of juvenile delinquency among boys up to twelve years of age and girls to twenty-one, the division also works on a variety of problems, including supervision of adult cases of mental illness, senility, and unfavorable domestic relations and many other matters pertaining to the welfare of children. A policewoman assistant to Mrs. Lossing was appointed in 1934. In recent years much of the work of the division has been accomplished by a group of volunteer helpers, estimated by Mrs. Lossing at "a dozen or more, sometimes as high as 30," who serve without pay.

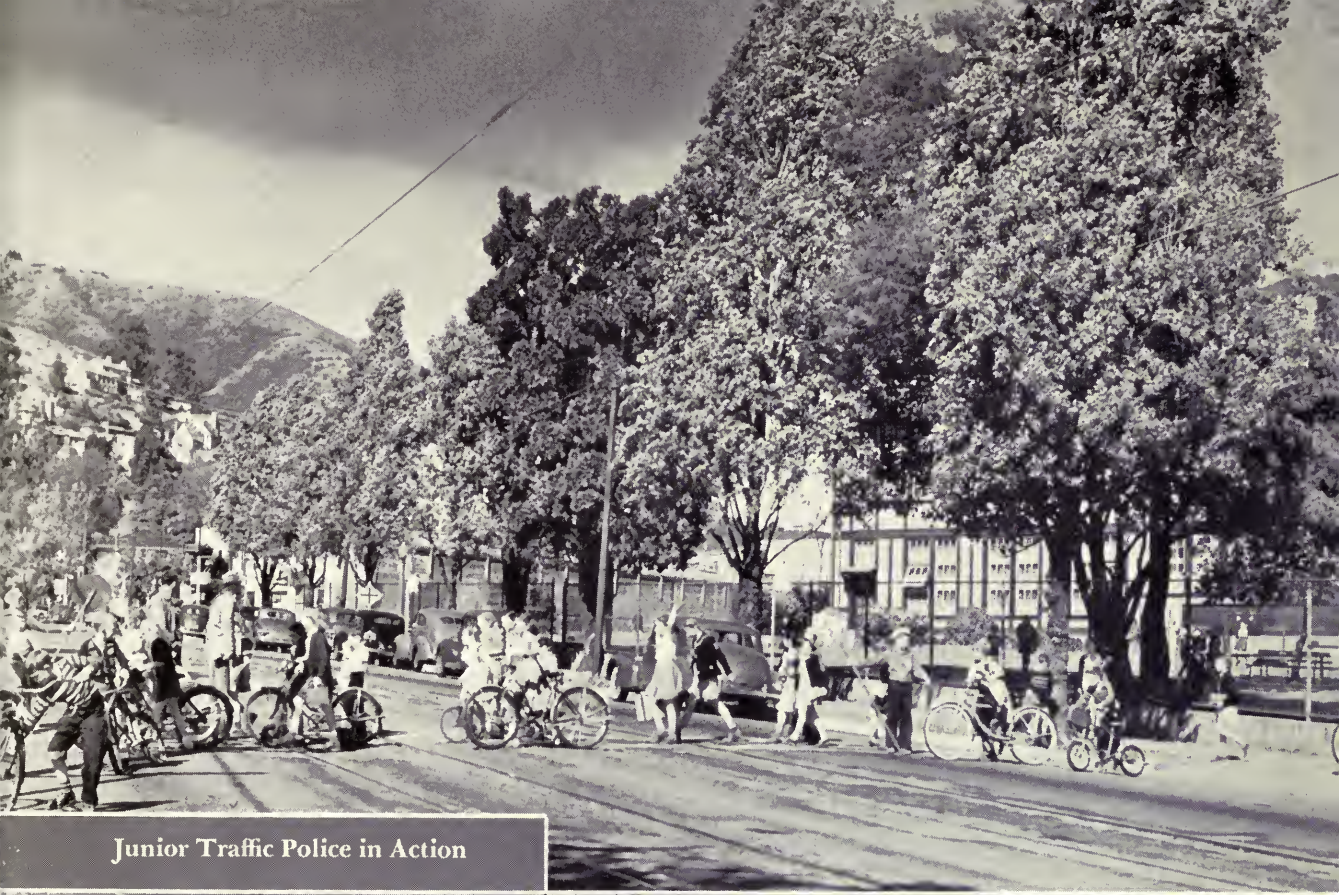
Supervision of boys from twelve to twenty-one, begun by Inspector Frank L. Waterbury who retired in 1936, became, in 1941, a full-time

activity conducted by Officer A. E. Riedel. Flexible in scope, the division employs distinctive methods of surveillance such as unofficial police probation for youthful offenders not within the jurisdiction of juvenile courts or other standard agencies.

The first Junior Traffic Police force in the country was organized in Berkeley by the police department, with the coöperation of the public schools, in 1923. The idea originated with D. H. Fraser and Clarence P. Taylor, members of the department, who submitted it to C. D. Lee, then acting chief of police in the absence of Chief Vollmer, who had been called to Los Angeles to reorganize the police department of that city. Lee thought well of the plan and put it into operation with six boys assigned to regulate traffic near the old Franklin School. In 1941 the organization had grown to include seven hundred members, who protect all public and two parochial schools. In addition to the prevention of accidents in the vicinity of the schools, the organization provides disciplinary training for the boy officers. Each year it saves the city an estimated fifty thousand dollars which would be necessary to provide equal regulation by adult police.

The Berkeley Traffic Safety Commission, a civic organization, was formed in 1924 to coöperate with the police department in reducing traffic accidents. Berkeley won second place among all American cities in its population class in the National Pedestrian Protection Contest for 1939. During the fiscal year 1938-39 it was awarded honorable mention by the National Safety Council in recognition of noteworthy achievements in the conservation of human life, being rated fourth safest city in the United States.

In recognition of his outstanding ability and achievements in police administration, Vollmer was elected president of the International Association of Police Chiefs in 1921. Subsequently he reorganized the police departments of many American cities, including Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Havana, Cuba. He left his command in Berkeley



Junior Traffic Police in Action



Berkeley's Town Meeting—the stockholders, city manager and assistants, and city council



Voice of Berkeley



Berkeley Yacht Harbor

in 1929 to head the department of research at the University of Chicago, with the title of Professor of Police Administration, and later returned to Berkeley to lecture in the same capacity at the University of California.

After Vollmer's retirement in 1929, the high standard of Berkeley's police administration was maintained by Police Chief John A. Greening, previously administrative assistant to Vollmer. According to the uniform crime reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the fiscal year 1938-39, fewer crimes were committed in Berkeley during that period than in the average city of California, the Pacific Coast, and the United States. Ratings based on the number of crimes per 100,000 population were: Berkeley, 1,388.3; Pacific Coast cities, 2,470.2; and California cities, 2,471.0. During the same period Berkeley had 72 per cent fewer robberies than the average Pacific Coast city and 83.5 per cent fewer than the average California city of any size; the burglary rate was 25 per cent less in Berkeley than in the average United States city and 49 per cent less than in the average Pacific Coast city of the same population size.

Berkeley's per capita cost of police protection in 1940 was \$2.88, against an average of \$3.11 in comparable United States cities. In the same year police officers in Berkeley numbered .95 per 1,000 population, against 1.20 in comparable cities. The low cost of police protection was attributed by Chief Greening to the careful selection and proper training of officers and the use of efficient, modern equipment.

Since 1919 high school graduation or its equivalent (determined by the chief of police), perfect physical condition, and unimpeachable reputation have been required of all applicants for admission to the police department's probationary training period of two years—one of the longest in the country. Fifty-three per cent of the force are university trained. The most complete library of standard works in the field of law enforcement in the United States—with the exception of the library of the Federal Bureau of Investigation—including many books translated from foreign languages, is maintained by the department for the use of members

of the force. Funds are budgeted by the city each year for the purchase of additional volumes. As a result of their thorough training, many former members of the Berkeley force have achieved distinction in the police administration of cities throughout the Nation and even in cities as remote as Nanking and Honolulu. In 1941 Chief Greening was a member of two special committees of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, an officer of the Pacific Coast International Association of Law Enforcement Officials, and a member of the National Police Academy—police school of the United States—conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When the academy was established in 1935 its lecture courses on five subjects—development of statistics and record systems, preparation of spot maps and reports, and training of personnel—were set up by Chief Greening.

Housed in the Hall of Justice—completed in November, 1939—Berkeley's police department was reported in 1941 by Chief Greening to have "undoubtedly the most modern police administration building of any city of its population size in the United States."

The first dual switchboard in the United States—combining duplicate control mechanisms for all police radio and telephone communication—was specially built and installed in the new Hall of Justice by telephone company engineers and police department technicians. The Berkeley department was the first in the United States to use "business machines"—mechanical devices similar to those used by the United States Census Bureau for sorting perforated cards—to develop various types of statistics. Its collection of civilian fingerprints (more than 56,000) is the largest in the country outside the Federal Bureau of Identification.

The Berkeley police department is completely motorized, all officers owning their automobiles and being paid car allowances. Each of the vehicles contains two-way radio equipment. The broadcasting station—which at one time had contracts with law enforcement agencies of seven counties—was California's largest municipal station from 1933 to 1938.

In 1934 specially trained Doberman Pinscher dogs were first used for police work in California by the Berkeley department. Twelve of these animals, valued at about \$1,000 each, were owned by individual members of the Berkeley police force in 1941.

The Public School System

UNTIL 1909 the public schools of Berkeley were only average schools in a State which had long had high educational standards, and because of the rapid growth of the town many of the buildings were overcrowded; but an important advance was made in that year. President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University had earlier pointed out the disadvantages of grouping students from grades one to eight in one type of school and then abruptly transferring them into the differently organized high school; he contended that a better arrangement would be to introduce an intermediate school for grades seven, eight, and nine and to limit the high school to a three-year course. In 1909, upon the recommendation of Superintendent Frank F. Bunker, two intermediate schools were set up. The department system as used in high schools was adopted and the curriculum enriched by the addition of Latin, modern languages, music, and mechanical and freehand drawing. Particular attention was given to the problem of the younger adolescent. One of these schools, the McKinley, opened in January, 1910, had a building of its own and thus could lay claim to being the first junior high school in the country, although that designation did not come until later. The system has since been widely and successfully adopted. Berkeley had in 1941 three such schools so located as to be accessible to all sections of the city.

Berkeley's school system is designed with the needs of its students uppermost in mind. Courses of study are developed each year by special committees selected from the teaching staff, who study modern trends in educational procedure. On the basis of surveys made each year under the direction of the Bureau of Research and Guidance to discover cases of

maladjustment in the public schools, special classes are organized for the more capable pupils as well as for those slow in learning. Every student is given a mental test to determine his native ability. On the basis of these tests students are grouped as X's, Y's, and Z's—above average, average, and below average in intelligence, respectively. For students below even the "Z" level there are special classes with enrollment limited to sixteen. Special teachers are provided for pupils having hearing or speech defects; crippled and handicapped children who are unable to attend school are instructed in their homes.

For students less interested in academic subjects, a wide range of interests and skills is developed by industrial education. For boys there are courses in carpentry, cabinet making, sheet metal work, plumbing, machine shop, electric shop, cement work, printing, mechanical drafting, pattern making. These courses serve both as prevocational and as vocational training for students intending to follow a skilled trade. For girls an extensive program in home economics extends from the simple weaving, knitting, and sewing taught in junior high school grades to senior high school courses which enable a young woman to design and make her own clothes and hats. Similarly, cooking instruction leads to advanced work in selecting food, preparing menus, serving meals, and cooking for invalids.

In addition to vocational work, which is distributed throughout the system, there was formed in 1920 the part-time high school, designed for young people from fourteen to twenty who could not be absorbed by industry and who were not qualified for regular high school work. In 1932 it acquired its own building and was renamed the McKinley High School. The work was so organized that a student could get a high school diploma or merely take certain courses which he felt would benefit him. Since its establishment there has been a marked increase in the attendance of adults, to whom many of the vocational courses are open, as part of an extensive night school curriculum.

In physical education, compulsory in all California schools, Berkeley has gone further than many cities. A school nurse makes a physical examination of school children. Each child is weighed twice a year or, if underweight, once a month. There is a "follow-up" of cases of convalescent children who have communicable diseases. Mid-morning milk and hot noon lunches are provided. There are conferences with mothers about diet. Health instruction is given in collaboration with the physical education departments.

The city is justly proud of its Preventorium School—more generally known as the "Sunshine School." Established August 9, 1926, with forty children, it had been conceived by Dr. W. P. Shepard, at the time director of health education in the Berkeley schools and of the Berkeley Health Center and also City Health Officer. The Alameda County Tuberculosis Association donated special equipment; the Health Center furnished equipment, medical supplies, medical examinations, and supervision; the Berkeley School Lunch Committee provided free lunches; and the Berkeley Exchange Club made available transportation for children who could not pay carfare. In 1927 the Sunshine School Committee recommended that the school be continued and enlarged to care for sixty children. In the fall of 1929 the Board of Education took over administration and support of the school and enlarged it to care for eighty children.

When the McKinley School was closed as an elementary unit the Sunshine School was moved to its present location. It now educates between 100 and 150 children who are in need of a rest regime. These are largely convalescents from acute illness, cardiacs, and children with organic defects. The school has a sun platform, showers and dressing rooms besides its classrooms. After attending classes from nine to ten, students have an hour of sun bathing, then a rest hour, an hour for lunch, and a second rest hour after lunch, with school work again from two to four in the afternoon. Approximately 70 per cent of those enrolled have shown improvement.

A preventorium of another sort was begun in 1924 by Dr. Virgil E. Dickson, then research director and assistant superintendent of schools, now superintendent, in an effort to meet the problems of maladjusted youth. Dr. Dickson and the heads of the police department, the health department, the welfare society, and the department of playgrounds, recreation and parks, along with others from each of these departments, constituting a so-called coördinating council, meet weekly to discuss problem cases and set up policies. The council supervises a "behavior research and service clinic," consisting of a physician, a psychiatrist, a staff of psychiatric social workers to whom the most serious behavior problems from schools are referred. Examinations are made of the nature of the difficulty, causes traced as far as possible, adjustments made, treatments given, results recorded. Only children whose parents agree to coöperate are treated; other problem children, along with normal children of the same group and social background, serve as "controls" in a scientific test of the value of the treatments. All too frequently the committee reports "the problem child is found to be the result of problem parents."

The constantly increasing school population required erection of new buildings until in 1940 Berkeley's public school system included twenty modern educational plants. The original high school building, constructed in 1901, was reconstructed after damage in the earthquake of 1906, and in 1934 was razed to make way for modern buildings. Within recent years all high school educational departments have been rapidly expanded; advanced courses in journalism and dramatics and beginning courses in automobile driving, photography, radio broadcasting, and piano have been introduced since 1937. The grade point average of Berkeley high school students entering the university over a period of several years has been 1.40, while the average of students from all large high schools (over 500 enrollment) during that period was 1.21.

A plan to foster improved understanding and relations between school pupils of the Americas by the exchange of high school teachers, believed

to be the first move of its kind, was approved by the Berkeley Board of Education in March, 1941. The plan, providing for the exchange of two teachers between Berkeley and Mexico City, was evolved by Dr. Dickson following conferences with Dr. Herbert Sein, Deputy Commissioner of Education for Mexico, who visited Berkeley in 1940.

In general the sense of social responsibility of the Berkeley public schools was well expressed by H. B. Wilson, a former superintendent, when he declared that "the function of the public schools of these days is to train each person so that he may carry as satisfactorily as possible all of life's responsibilities."

Berkeley's Firefighters

IN EXPERIENCE, methods, and equipment for the prevention and control of fires, the city has gone far since that July day in 1882 when, according to the *Advocate*, West Berkeley became "fortunate in having a number of energetic young men [making up] a fire brigade which they will be sure to maintain with efficiency." Such volunteer companies—small groups of red-shirted men who dragged hose carts through the lanes of the town—served with questionable efficiency until 1904, when Berkeley had its first paid firemen.

Berkeley's first fire chief, head of the volunteer fire department of early days as well as of the city's first paid department, was James Kenney, who died in 1916 in a factory fire a stone's throw from the public park in West Berkeley which was later named in his honor. Kenney it was who influenced August Vollmer to run for office as town marshall on a reform ticket in 1905.

G. Sydney Rose, who succeeded Kenney as fire chief, was instrumental in establishing both the Fire Prevention Bureau and the two-platoon system. During his administration the first inhalator was purchased and intensive rescue training was inaugurated under direction of the Bureau of Mines at the university. After the death of Rose in April, 1927, George

Haggerty became chief. During the eleven years of his command the personnel and equipment of the department were increased to 95 men, 10 fire stations, and 12 fire companies. Haggerty constructed a smoke blower—a nationally important innovation—displacing 10,000 feet of air per minute, which proved valuable in fires involving heavy smoke.

The disastrous fire of 1923 brought strenuous efforts to abolish the use of wooden shingles, culminating in passage by the City Council of an ordinance banning them. It was largely through the personal efforts of Chiefs Rose and Haggerty, however, rather than because of the ordinance—which was repealed in a referendum election—that most of Berkeley's new homes were covered with fire-retardant roofing instead of the wooden shingles which had been blamed for spreading the flames of 1923 far and wide. Meanwhile, activities of the department's Fire Prevention Bureau included elimination of old buildings constituting fire hazards. An abundant water supply from the Mokelumne River also contributed to Berkeley's safety from disastrous fires. In 1941 availability of the city's water supply had been increased until less than sixty street intersections in the entire community were without fire hydrants.

In 1937 the National Fire Protective Association rated Berkeley one of the twelve safest cities in the Nation. The city's per capita fire loss for the five years ending in 1937 was twenty-three cents, compared with an average of \$1.51 for the Nation's larger cities. Annual observance of fire prevention week, featuring essay contests in the schools and special broadcasts from the local radio station, KRE, were credited with making important contributions to this record.

John S. Eichelberger, present fire chief, had served thirty-two years in the department prior to his appointment in August, 1938. He commands an efficient and well-equipped force. In addition to standard apparatus the department operates a rescue and salvage wagon equipped with a fixed 1,000-watt lamp and four portable 400-watt lamps, first aid equipment, salvage covers, gas masks, oxygen helmets, an electric drill and oxygen

cutting outfit, sprinkler heads, and a radio receiver. The automobile furnished for the fire chief is equipped with a two-way radio, and vehicles driven by deputy and assistant chiefs contain radio receivers.

Berkeley's fire and police departments occupy key positions in the Disaster Preparedness Plan, adopted by the City Council in February, 1927. First considered as a means of preventing a repetition of the disorganization which followed the 1923 fire, the plan was subsequently expanded "to provide for the most effective and immediate mobilization of resources needed to alleviate suffering caused by any form of disaster which may visit Berkeley."

Administration of the plan is vested in a coördinating committee consisting of the mayor, the chairman of the Berkeley chapter of the American Red Cross, the city manager, and a representative of the president of the University of California. The plan is designed to insure protection of persons and property, adequate public relief and rehabilitation, and preservation of order. Participating groups include the Red Cross, city Health Department, American Legion, Berkeley Chamber of Commerce, university R.O.T.C., Boy Scouts, public utilities firms, hospitals, radio stations, and numerous civic and social organizations. The plan also provides for assistance from many outside sources such as the State public health agencies, the National Guard, and the military, naval, and marine forces of the United States.

Facilities for Recreation

ANOTHER of Berkeley's best-known departments of city government is recreation, of which Charles W. Davis is superintendent. At nineteen public playgrounds persons of all ages may be found, ranging from pre-school boys and girls using swings, slides, and wading pools to elderly men active on the bowling green. There is abundant opportunity to play football, basketball, baseball, softball, volleyball, tennis, and badminton on city fields or courts.

For the followers of aquatic sports the Berkeley Aquatic Park, built between 1935 and 1940 with WPA labor, extends for a mile along the Bay shore between Ashby and University Avenues. Rowboats, small sailboats, and electric power boats traverse its placid surface. In one end of the tide-filled lagoon, kept at high level by the use of tide gates, model yachts are raced.

The Yacht Harbor, also constructed by the WPA with municipal sponsorship, is 4,000 feet long and 1,600 feet wide, ranging from four to thirty feet in depth. Earthen walls with rock facing protect craft in stormy weather from the waves of the Bay. There is berthing space for more than three hundred pleasure craft. The new white gambrel-roofed Yacht Club House serves as a social center. The long pier near-by, originally built three miles out into the Bay to meet the automobile ferries to San Francisco but now superseded by the Bay Bridge, is still in use as a fishing pier.

In addition to these resources, Berkeley was considering in 1941 the need for a municipal swimming pool, a museum, a "little theater," and more extensive play areas in the South Berkeley and Westbrae districts.

Besides its playgrounds, Berkeley maintains north of the campus a number of parks of a more decorative sort. Codornices Park, following the canyon of a creek, has been terraced and made into a rose garden; Mortar Rock Park, where Indians once ground their corn, affords a fine view of the Bay and the Marin County hills; Cragmont Rock Park, with its curious rock formations, surrounds a lofty lookout station where sunrise services are held on Easter; and John Hinkel Park, named for public-spirited John Hinkel, who presented it to the city, has an outdoor theater where the Berkeley Community Players give performances during the summer.

Outside its boundaries the city maintains three mountain playgrounds. It leased from the Federal Government in 1923 a portion of Tahoe National Forest near Echo Lake. Here, at an elevation of 7,600 feet near the summit of the Placerville-Tahoe Highway, summer cabins and camping

facilities overlook a splendid panorama of mountain scenery, placed near lakes and streams which are well stocked with fish. At the 3,500-foot elevation on the south fork of the Stanislaus River, on the Big Oak Flat Road, is another municipal camp with hiking, horseback riding, swimming, and organized games as attractions. Nearer home the city owns the Cazadero Camp in a fine stand of redwoods near the Russian River where, in conjunction with a "family camp," special camps for boys and girls provide a varied program.

Although it is not under the direct supervision of the city's recreation department, Berkeley's residents profit from another publicly owned play area adjoining the city—the Charles Lee Tilden Regional Park. As long ago as 1868 the great landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmstead, urged the creation of a park in the hills above Berkeley. The idea was kept alive by Professor John C. Merriam and his son, John C. Merriam, Jr., and by the Contra Costa Hills Club under the leadership of Harold French. It was largely their work which led to the acquisition jointly by seven of the nine Eastbay cities of public utilities property and its transformation into one of the parks of the Eastbay Regional Park system. The area has camping places, picnic grounds, playfields, and a golf course, as well as foot and horse trails.

The City's Everyday Work

ASIDE from the public library, which has over forty-five thousand cardholding patrons for its five buildings, the rest of Berkeley's many municipal departments are chiefly operational divisions which do not come prominently into the public eye.

Berkeley's health department concerns itself with the inspection of cattle in the 289 dairies in the surrounding country which supply milk to Berkeley residents; with the inspection of the city's 700 food establishments; with the distribution of information, particularly concerning prenatal care. A staff of thirteen public health nurses carries on a public

health program which Berkeley was the first American city to institute, begun in 1923. Largely as a result of the work of this department, Berkeley's general death and infant mortality rates not only are well below the average for California as a whole, but are far below the average for the entire country.

The Department of Equipment Maintenance sees to the rolling stock of the city. The Department of Garbage Collection operates seventeen trucks in the collection of garbage and refuse. The Department of Public Works has the responsibility of maintaining streets and sewers, and—by its electrical division—the city's lighting, police- and fire-alarm systems. There are also the Assessor's Office, which determines property values for taxation; the Building Department, which inspects buildings, supervises sanitation, repairs, and demolition; the Auditor's Office, Department of City Engineering, Legal Department, Bureau of Purchasing and Budgetary Control, Department of Personnel and Research, Department of Public Charities, Department of Treasurer-Collector, and Department of City Planning—eighteen in all, a large number for a city of Berkeley's size, but a number which has not lessened the efficiency of municipal operations. In his second annual report, City Manager John N. Edy said that Berkeley had "more departments, therefore department heads, than many city manager cities. The reason for this is my conviction that . . . combining offices and duties does not always result in the employment of fewer people. On the contrary, it not infrequently happens that, after combining two offices or positions, three people are found to be performing the work previously done by two. We have been careful to guard against the situation in Berkeley, endeavoring to maintain a compact organization in which responsibility is fixed and definite."

In support of Edy's contention is the excellent financial condition of the city government, which remained sound throughout the depression, and which frequently found a slight annual surplus of receipts over operating costs.



Municipal Rose Garden



English and Mediterranean Roof Lin



pproach to Berkeley from Bay Shore

The Unofficial Government

IN A MULTITUDE of activities other than those supported by the municipality Berkeley has shown that its people are progressive and public-spirited. From the days when the Berkeley Political Equality Society was working for women's rights, women in Berkeley have played an increasingly prominent part in the city's civic affairs. In 1906 they advanced a long step towards woman suffrage when a committee framing a new city charter recommended that they be permitted to vote on all school matters and be eligible for places on the board of education. Since the first woman member of the board was elected in July, 1909, there has always been at least one feminine member. Berkeley sent a woman to the State Legislature in 1919. In 1923 Mrs. Carrie L. Hoyt was elected to the first City Council under the new council-manager form of government, and she has served continuously since. In 1931 she was made vice-mayor, serving as the city's chief executive during the mayor's absence. Another woman, Mrs. Benita Herrick, has also served on the council for several years. Most of the city's commissions include women members.

In service and welfare organizations Berkeley women have done notable work. During the World War Mrs. Samuel Marks marshalled many Berkeley women for participation in the National League for Women's Service. A canteen was established in the old Elks' building, where improvised clubrooms provided headquarters for eight hundred aviators. This Berkeley unit later received a medal from the government for distinguished work. During the influenza epidemic the building was converted into a nursing home. In 1927 the women's division of the Community Chest was organized in Berkeley with Mrs. Marks as chairman, and it made an excellent record for money-raising.

The civic consciousness of Berkeley women has also been demonstrated by the growth of their clubs. "Club life in Berkeley is attractive by reason of variety," said Wells Drury, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, in

a magazine article published in 1919. "There are three kinds of clubs,—clubs for men, clubs for women, and clubs to which both men and women are admitted. All of these devote much time and attention to the serious affairs of life. This is particularly true of the women's clubs of Berkeley, which are not merely social organizations, although the society of the community is a highly-developed organism. Women here devote much attention to civic betterment and public affairs, as befits their character as voters and lawmakers."

Berkeley's many women's clubs were scattered and, in many cases, without regular headquarters until 1930, when the half-million-dollar Women's City Club house was completed. Preliminary steps toward formation of the club had been taken at a meeting of the Business and Professional Women's Club in 1926, and organization was effected that year by a committee composed of representatives of the Berkeley League of Women Voters, California Writers' Club, College Women's Club, Etude Club, League of American Pen Women, Monday Study Club, Political Science Club, Northbrae Women's Club, Twentieth Century Club, Women's Army and Navy Club, and Berkeley Piano Club. In 1941 the Berkeley Women's City Club was one of the leading organizations of its kind in the United States, with almost five thousand members.

Berkeley also has benefited extensively from the interest in civic affairs displayed by its many service clubs and business organizations. These were influential in promoting beautification of city streets through planting of trees and shrubs. In 1940 most of them joined forces to secure passage of a \$125,000 bond issue providing for development of a civic center, bounded by Allston Way and Milvia, Center, and Grove Streets.

This development had been discussed for thirty-odd years. Objections had been raised against the cost of such a project. Some people said that Berkeley had enough parks and foliage, that the near-by campus of the University of California was a veritable park itself. But when submitted for a vote, the civic center proposal received enthusiastic public approval.

The plan called for landscaping of the center itself and for control of architecture in the surrounding area. WPA assistance was obtained in installing lawns, trees, hedges, benches, Maypoles, fountains, and a shallow pool intended to make the center a pleasant place for the citizen to stop and rest. An elevated paved area was planned to accommodate speakers, pageants, and band players.

Architecture around the center was regulated by an ordinance passed April 3, 1941, specifying that "the development of the Civic Center in the City of Berkeley and the property surrounding and in the neighborhood of the Civic Center should proceed along the lines of good order, good taste and with due regard to the public interests involved . . . a reasonable degree of control should be exercised over the character and design of public, private and semi-public buildings" located near-by. The ordinance required submission of building plans to the Planning Commission.

Another demonstration of Berkeley's civic consciousness was made in plans for celebrating the city's Diamond Jubilee in the spring of 1941. The city government, service clubs and business organizations, women's clubs, the university and other schools, and many individuals joined in commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the naming of Berkeley. Directors of the Berkeley Festival Association included a representative cross-section of the city's business, cultural, and official life. Its president was Lester W. Hink, merchant and president of the Berkeley Country Club; vice-president was George Dunscomb, publisher of the *Berkeley Daily Gazette*. The executive committee was composed of William E. Chamberlain, impresario who had managed the Berkeley Musical Association for twenty-five years; Reece Clark and Richard W. Young, attorneys; Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California; and John M. Olney, business-man. Its secretary was J. Delbert Sarber, general manager of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce.

The association's board of directors included, as representatives of the city, Mayor Frank Gaines, Councilman Richard S. French (who is also

superintendent of the School for the Blind), Superintendent of Recreation Charles W. Davis, City Manager Chester C. Fisk, Superintendent of Schools Virgil E. Dickson, High School Principal Elwin Le Tendre, Librarian Susan Smith, and Justice Oliver Youngs, Jr. Representing the university, in addition to President Sproul, were Vice-President and Provost Monroe E. Deutsch, Medical Director William G. Donald, Professors William B. Herms and William Popper, and Robert Sibley, executive secretary of the alumni association. Business and professional men, most of whom represented service clubs and business organizations, included bankers G. T. Douglas and Warde W. Sorrick, H. S. Howard (secretary of the Service Club Council), Jake Livingston, Philip N. McCombs, Dr. W. E. Mitchell, William Parks, Walter H. Ratcliff, Maurice Read, Emery Stone, W. H. Woolsey, and Raymond Young. Other groups were represented by Thomas E. Caldecott, member of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors; Reverend Joseph C. Carpenter, president of the Council of Churches; Mrs. E. J. Hadden, president of the Women's City Club; Mrs. Samuel Marks, head of the Community Chest (also chairman of the Women's Board of the Festival Association); and Mrs. Ralph W. Robinson, president of the Berkeley Art Association.

This board planned a program that both would attract renewed attention to Berkeley as a cultural center and would serve as an appropriate commemoration of the city's anniversary. With Samuel J. Hume—who had been director of the Greek Theatre during its most resplendent days in the early twenties—as general director, the association scheduled a series of concerts and plays in the Greek Theatre extending from May 4 to June 10 that was reminiscent of the theater's early history. The program opened on May 4 with a presentation of the oratorio *Elijah*, in which Mme. Ernestine Schumann-Heink had sung in a notable performance in 1919; this time John Charles Thomas was the star. One week later the San Francisco Opera Ballet was scheduled to give three ballets, *In Old Vienna*, *Chopinade*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, under the direction

of Willam Christensen. On May 18 Offenbach's light opera, *Orpheus in the Underworld*, was presented in English starring Vera Schwarz as Eurydice; on May 25, a concert by the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Bruno Walter; on June 1, George Bernard Shaw's drama, *Saint Joan*, in which Elena Miramova played the title role; and on June 8, Shakespeare's comedy, *Twelfth Night*, with Lois Moran in the cast. This regular series was followed on June 10 with a special concert by the Berkeley Young People's Symphony Orchestra, a ninety-piece organization that had received considerable praise during its four years of existence, with Jessica Marcelli as conductor.

The program was planned to fulfill the announced intention of the association's president, Lester Hink, "to present a festival that will be distinguished as befits our city and will include the best that is representative of music, the drama, and the dance." It was a type of commemoration both characteristic of and appropriate to Berkeley, which during its first three-quarters of a century had received world-wide acclaim as a city of learning, a center of culture, the "Athens of the West."

The city had come a long way indeed since that day in May, 1866, seventy-five years before, when the trustees of the College of California had christened it. It was only remotely like the city they had envisioned. It was even less like the open-wooded pasture land where José Domingo Peralta had constructed a rude adobe house just a century before, and where during the 1840's fat cattle grazed in a primitive Spanish Arcadia. The city, with its neighbor Albany, had completely covered and obscured José Domingo's portion of the Rancho San Antonio. It had spread out to the limit of its physical expansion on all sides and was spilling over into adjoining areas across the county line to the north and east. With most of its residential property occupied, it had little prospect of increasing its population much beyond the 85,547 permanent residents counted in the 1940 census. Its leaders could concentrate on fulfilling the dictum of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler a quarter-century before, to make it not a

“greater Berkeley” but a “better Berkeley.” With a notable municipal government, a high percentage of owned homes, a diversified and growing industrial section, it is well along the road toward becoming a model American community.

Bibliography

THIS HISTORY was drawn from a wide range of source materials—books, magazines and newspapers, official city, county, and university records, manuscripts and unpublished documents. In all, more than two hundred and fifty sources were consulted.

The starting point for this work, as it probably will be for future historians of Berkeley, was Dr. William Warren Ferrier's substantial histories of the city (1933) and the university (1930). Other works of special value were William Carey Jones' *Illustrated History of University of California* (1895) and a master's thesis on early Berkeley by Mary Ruth Houston (1925).

Much new material was discovered, principally in magazines and newspapers. Articles published in early issues of the *Grizzly Bear*, *Overland Monthly*, *Sunset*, and *University Echo* (in university archives) were particularly illuminating in regard to the growing pains of the city and its precocious university. Recent developments, principally Berkeley's civic venturesomeness, have been surprisingly well covered by current periodicals. Newspaper files, in general, proved rewarding. The most valuable material from this source came from special editions, such as the *Berkeley Advocate* (Holiday Edition, December, 1892), *Berkeley Gazette* (National Publicity Edition, 1916; 74th Birthday Edition, May 2-9, 1940; and Diamond Jubilee Edition, April 4, 1941), and the *Berkeley Reporter* (New Year's Edition, 1906).

In addition, seventy Berkeley residents, from Mayor to housewife, submitted graciously to interviews. They searched their memories and settled many historical inconsistencies; and they gave access to rare letters, manuscripts, pamphlets, and clippings that added life and color to the story. The university opened its archives, permitting the direct use of College of California documents, early reports and catalogues, photographs and letters, many of them unique copies.

For the benefit of the reader who wishes to carry the story of Berkeley beyond these pages, the list of sources used has been combed and only the principal items recorded in the bibliography below. With a few exceptions, archival material has been omitted.

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ARMSTRONG, J. EVAN, president, Armstrong College of Business Administration.

BATES, ALTA, founder, Alta Bates Hospital.

BOYNTON, MRS. FLORENCE, early resident.

BOWMAN, DR. J. N., historian.

CALDECOTT, T. E., County Supervisor.

CAMP, MRS. CONSTANCE WILLIS, member pioneer family.

DAVIS, MARY E., member pioneer family.

DONALD, DR. WILLIAM G., university physician.

DOWNES, MRS. ELIZABETH W., Women's City Club.

DRURY, AUBREY, author.

EICHELBERGER, JOHN S., Fire Chief.

EMSLIE, CHARLES, pioneer realtor.

EVANS, DR. HERBERT, Director, Institute of Experimental Biology, University of California.

FENWICK, MRS. DUFF, early resident.

FERRIER, DR. W. W., historian.

FISK, CHESTER C., City Manager.

FOSS, FREDERICK, pioneer business-man.

FRENCH, DR. RICHARD S., City Councilman, Superintendent, California School for the Blind.

GAINES, FRANK S., Mayor.

GOODMAN, MICHAEL, architect.

GREENING, JOHN A., Chief of Police.

HADLEN, EDWARD, County Clerk's office.

HARE, MRS. ALICE AEOLIAN, author.

HELD, MRS. ALICE HUNEWILL, early resident.

HEYWOOD, CHARLES, former city official.

HIGGS, CAPT. ARTHUR, President, Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Association.

HOPKINS, JOHN W., President, Williams College.

HOYT, MRS. CARRIE L., Vice-Mayor.

HUGGINS, C. L., pioneer resident, former city official.

JAMES, MORRIS C., Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Emeritus.

KEELER, MRS. CHARLES, author.

KEITH, MRS. WILLIAM, early resident.

KELSEY, HARRINGTON C., member pioneer family.

KIMBALL, JOHN, District Supervisor, East Bay Municipal Utilities District.

KOETITZ, A. P., Harbormaster.

LAMBERT, BROTHUR, President, St. Mary's College High School.

LARSON, ALEXANDER R., Assistant Postmaster.

LE CONTE, CAROLINE, member pioneer family.

LEUPP, HAROLD L., Librarian, University of California.

LOSSING, MRS. ELISABETH, policewoman.

MCLEAN, FANNIE, early teacher.

MARKS, MRS. SAMUEL, civic leader.

MERRILL, CLARENCE S., early resident.

MOODY, MRS. AGNES CLAYPOOL, former city councilwoman.

MULLENBURG, JAMES, Pacific School of Religion.

O'BRIEN, TIMOTHY, retired teacher.

PIERCE, LAURA, early resident.

PUTZKER, OTTO, early resident.

RICHARDSON, DR. LEON J., Director, University of California Extension Division.

RULE, IRVING C., Captain, Fire Department.

SARBER, J. DELBERT, Managing Director, Chamber of Commerce.

SAWYER, ELISE, Assistant Librarian, Boalt Library.

SIBLEY, ROBERT, Manager, University of California Alumni Association.

SIMPSON, DONALD, Director, Junior Traffic Police.

STEVENSON, DR. ELWOOD A., Superintendent, California School for the Deaf.

STRINGHAM, MRS. FRANK, member pioneer family.

TUSCH, "MOTHER," aviation museum.

TWINING, C. M., Vice-President, Cutter
Laboratories.
VOLLMER, AUGUST, former Chief of Police.
WILSON, J. STITT, former Mayor.

WISE, MRS. C. W., California College of
Business.
WOOLSEY, W. H., member pioneer family.
YOUNGS, OLIVER, JR., Justice of the Peace.

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